Constantine of Rhodes, On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles

With a new edition of the Greek text by Ioannis Vassis

Edited by
Liz James

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Preface

Constantine of Rhodes's tenth-century poem on the wonders of Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles has been regularly used as a source of information about tenth-century Constantinople and as a basis for reconstructions of the Church of the Holy Apostles, which was destroyed after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The poem survives in one manuscript, Athos Lavra 1161, and has been edited twice previously, by Begleri and by Legrand, both in 1896.[1] Large parts of the poem were translated into German by August Heisenberg in 1908; scattered parts have been published in a range of other languages. The poem as a whole has not previously been published in an English translation.[2]

It is clear from scattered references throughout his work that in the 1940s and 1950s, Glanville Downey and a group of scholars including Albert M. Friend Jr., Francis Dvornik and Paul Underwood were working on a study of the church of the Holy Apostles. In 1951, Downey specifically mentioned that he had prepared a new edition, translation and commentary on the poem as a part of this research.[3] In his survey of the church and mosaics of San Marco, Otto Demus used the unpublished texts of a lecture on architectural reconstructions

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[1]   G. P. Begleri, *Chram svjatych Apostolov i drugie pamjatniki Konstantinopolja po opisaniju Konstantina Rodija* (Odessa, 1896); É. Legrand, 'Description des œuvres d'art et de l'église des saints Apôtres de Constantinople. Poème en vers iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien', *Revue des études grecques* 9 (1896), 32–65.

[2]   A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche. Zwei Basiliken Konstantins. Untersuchungen zur Kunst und Literatur des ausgehenden Altertums, Zweiter Teil. Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel* (Leipzig, 1908); C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Toronto, 1972), 199–201 provides the longest published section in English that I am aware of.

[3]   In G. Downey, 'The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople', *DOP* 6 (1951), 55, n. 8. Other references come in his 'On Some Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 77 (1946), 25, n. 9; 'Notes on the Topography of Constantinople', *Art Bulletin* 34 (1952), 235, n. 3; 'Constantine the Rhodian: His Life and Writings', in K. Weitzmann et al. (eds), *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A.M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 212; Nikolaos Mesarites, *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople*, ed. and trans. by G. Downey, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47, 6 (1957), 855. Here and in his 'The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles

of the church given by Underwood and another unspecified lecture by Friend.[4] Friend's death in 1956 appears to have halted work on the project, though Downey did publish an edition and translation of Nikolaos Mesarites's account of the Holy Apostles in 1959.[5] However, whether any of Downey's translation and work on Constantine of Rhodes still survives is unknown.[6]

In this volume, Ioannis Vassis has produced a new edition of the Greek text of the poem. He has also provided an introduction and critical commentary to this text. Liz James has written a commentary on the sites, monuments and people described in the text. She has also discussed the art historical contexts for Constantine of Rhodes's account of Constantinople and the church of the Holy Apostles. A full literary commentary is lacking and we very much regret this. Simon Lane drew the map and produced the plans.

A Note on Names

There are too many Constantines in this volume: the poet himself together with the emperors Constantine I and Constantine VII. In a bid to try and avoid confusion, Ioannis Vassis and I have referred to the poet as Constantine of Rhodes, and called him Rhodios where necessary. The emperors Constantine are always referred to with their numbers and/or their respective titles, 'the Great' or 'Porphyrogennetos'. Transliterations of Byzantine names are taken from the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.

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in Constantinople', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 79 (1959), 27, n. 1, Downey says that the death of Friend made the completion of the planned collaborative monograph 'impossible'.

[4]   O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (Chicago, 1984), 364, n. 5 and 366, the end of n. 7, explaining that the manuscript of Underwood's text is in Dumbarton Oaks. Friend had enlisted Underwood's help in 1945 for a study of the decoration of the Holy Apostles. See E. Kitzinger, 'Paul Atkins Underwood (1902–1968)', *DOP* 23/24 (1969/1970), 2. Dumbarton Oaks holds four archival boxes of Underwood's papers labelled as relating specifically to Holy Apostles. I am grateful to Shalimar White for this information.

[5]   Mesarites, *Description*, 859–918.

[6]   Inquiries have found nothing at Dumbarton Oaks, Princeton or Indiana.

Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations

AP *Palatine Anthology.*
      Text and translation available as W. R. Paton (trans.)
      The Greek Anthology (Cambridge, MA, 1960)
B   *Byzantion*
BMGS *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
ByzF *Byzantinsche Forschungen*
BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
ODB A. P. Kazhdan et al. (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (3 vols, New York and London, 1991)
PG   J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Graecae: Patrologiae Cursus completus* (161 vols, Paris, 1857–1866)

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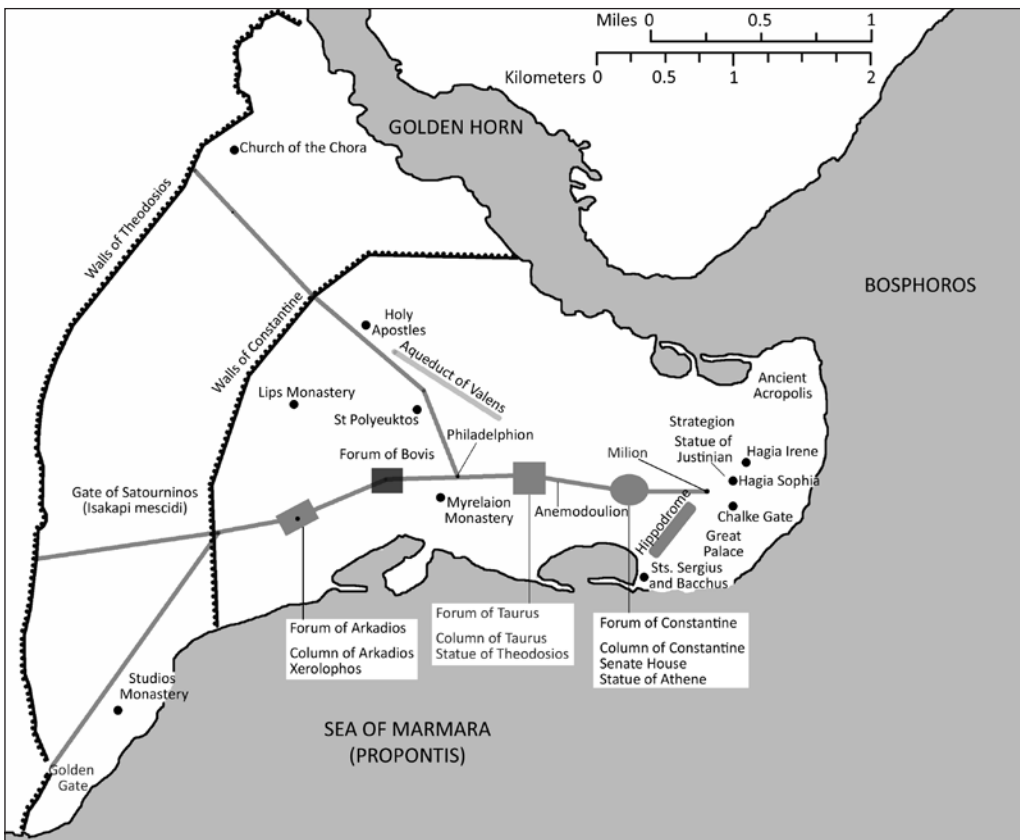
Figure 1 Map of Constantine of Rhodes's Constantinople

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SECTION I
The Poem

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Chapter 1

Introduction to the Greek Edition

Ioannis Vassis

1 Manuscript Tradition and Editions of the Text

The verse *ekphrasis*, written by Constantine of Rhodes, describing the church of the Holy Apostles is preserved in a single manuscript of the fifteenth century, Athos Lavra 1161 (Λ 170), on fols. 139ʳ–147ᵛ. The manuscript, measuring 26 × 20 cm, is composed of 171 paper folios. The first folio of the text, fol. 139r., which contained lines 1–24 on its verso, became detached from the manuscript and was replaced by the present fol. 139r. on which were copied the same verses (on the basis of Begleri's edition) at some stage after 1896. The manuscript contains a number of other interesting texts, including orations by Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzos, John Chrysostom and Maximos the Confessor, together with commentaries by Niketas the Paphlagonian and some verse compositions (iambic canons and *verse vitae*).[1]

The ekphrasis of Constantine of Rhodes was first brought to scholars' attention by K. Sathas in 1872 when he published a catalogue of the most important manuscripts held in the monasteries of Mount Athos.[2] The text, however, was only published nearly a quarter of a century later, in 1896, in two editions that came out almost simultaneously: one by É. Legrand; and the other by G. Begleri.[3]

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[1]   See the detailed description of the manuscript in the catalogue of Spyridon Lauriotes and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos, with Notices from other Libraries* (Cambridge, MA, 1925), 293, together with the observations of Legrand, 'Description des œuvres d'art', 34–35, and Begleri, *Chram*, 2. See also T. Antonopoulou, 'The Metrical Passions of SS. Theodore Tiron and Theodore Stratelates in Cod. Laura Λ 170 and the Grammatikos Merkourios', in S. Kotzabassi and G. Mavromatis (eds), *Realia Byzantina* (Berlin and New York, 2009), 1–11.

[2]   K. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (Venice, 1872), vol. 1, 274–275.

[3]   Legrand, 'Description des œuvres d'art', 36–65. The text is accompanied by the archaeological commentary of T. Reinach, 'Commentaire archéologique sur le poème de Constantin le Rhodien', *Revue des études grecques* 9 (1896), 66–103. Begleri, *Chram* (with an introduction and commentary in Russian). A copy of this rare edition is held in the Gennadius Library, Athens (cat. no. BL 675). K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2nd edition, Munich, 1897), 725, remarked that Begleri's edition was published just a few weeks after Legrand's. However, L. Paranikas in his 'Review' of Legrand and Begleri in *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 4 (1897), 188, noted that Begleri's edition came out in January

The main reason for this double edition was the interest shown in the text by a learned monk of the monastery of Great Lavra, Alexandros Evmorfopoulos, who had sent both editors copies of the text made by himself. Only Legrand, however, managed to get his hands on photographs of the manuscript, on the basis of which he made his somewhat hastily prepared edition.[4] Nevertheless, besides a number of oversights in transcribing the text and a few typographical errors, both editors made valuable suggestions in the process of restoring various passages, as can be seen from a glance at the *apparatus criticus* that accompanies the present edition.[5] Later corrections to Legrand's edition were proposed by Maas, Heisenberg, Bartelink, Criscuolo and Speck.[6]

2 Form and Structure of the Text

The verses of Constantine of Rhodes are generally held to be of only mediocre poetic worth,[7] while his style has, with some justification, been described as artificial and over-elaborate.[8] His text has more than its fair share of rambling digressions and parenthetical phrases, accumulation of parallel figures, repetition, pleonasm, excessive use of interdependent genitives, frequent use of enjambment and various syntactical irregularities that obscure the meaning or interfere with grammatical coherence. However, the reasons for some of these phenomena need to be sought, in part, in the form in which the poem has been handed down to us.

1896, while Legrand's edition was published in the January–March 1896 issue of *Revue des études grecques*.

[4]   See Legrand, 'Description', 33–34, and Reinach, 'Commentaire', 66–67.

[5]   A list comparing the divergences between the two editions, although neither is exhaustive or totally free from errors, is provided in Paranikas, 'Review', 190–192.

[6]   P. Maas, 'Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber', *BZ* 12 (1903), 322, n. 47; Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, 120–129, 225, 239–240; G. J. M. Bartelink, 'Constantin le Rhodien, ecphrasis sur l'église des Apôtres à Constantinople, vv. 539, 665, 882, 888', *B* 46 (1976), 425–426; U. Criscuolo, 'Note all'*Ekphrasis* di Costantino Rodio', *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* n.s. 38 (1989), 141–149; P. Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos. Zweck und Datum der Ekphrasis der sieben Wunder von Konstantinopel und der Apostelkirche', *Poikila Byzantina* 11 (Bonn, 1991), 252, n. 12, 253, n. 18, 256, n. 26.

[7]   See, for example, O. Wulff, 'Die sieben Wunder von Byzanz und die Apostelkirche nach Konstantinos Rhodios', *BZ* 7 (1898), 317, and C. Angelidi, "Η περιγραφὴ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ἀπὸ τὸν Κωνσταντῖνο Ῥόδιο. Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ συμβολισμός', *Symmeikta* 5 (1983), 98, who finds in the author only a passable knowledge of verse techniques.

[8]   Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 220, who also considers Constantine's description to be remarkably exact in matters of architectural detail.

The work preserved under the general title Στίχοι Κωνσταντίνου ἀσηκρίτη τοῦ Ῥοδίου can be divided into the following five parts:

> A. Lines 1–18: an epigram (with an acrostic constructed on the genitive form of the author's name, Κωνσταντίνου Ῥοδίου), in which the ekphrasis of the church of the Holy Apostles is dedicated to the emperor, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, who had commissioned the work.
>
> B. Lines 19–254: detailed description of the seven wonders of Constantinople.
>
> C. Lines 255–422: transitional section, a kind of preface with general references to important monuments of the capital, in which the forthcoming description of the churches of the Holy Apostles and of Hagia Sophia is announced.
>
> D. Lines 423–436: verse title and second epigram, in which the ekphrasis of the church of the Holy Apostles is dedicated to Constantine Porphyrogennetos.
>
> E. Lines 437–981: ekphrasis of the church of the Holy Apostles: history (437–532), architecture and marble decoration (533–750), mosaic decorations (751–981).

Although the work is prefaced by an epigram in which Rhodios dedicates the ekphrasis of the church of the Holy Apostles to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, the text that follows does not appear to have reached the final form that would have been presented to the emperor. The various opinions that have been expressed on this text tend to concur on the observation that what we have before us is an unfinished work, or a series of sketches and poetical drafts.

Whatever the case, the last section of the work – the description of the church of the Holy Apostles (lines 437–981) – does possess internal coherence. That Constantine of Rhodes was working on the basis of a specific design is evidenced by lines 536–537, in which he states that he will return to his account of the mosaics in the church; in lines 751–981 he fulfils his promise. A similar phenomenon can be seen in section C: in lines 317–320 he returns to his theme following a digression that begins in line 284. The poem appears to have reached a final form,[9] although, as scholars have already noted, it ends abruptly: after

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[9]   Some commentators (such as Reinach, 'Commentaire', 100, and Angelidi, "Η περιγραφή", 117) assume that, following the example of Paul the Silentiary, Constantine intended later to add a separate account of other important sections of the church, such as the sanctuary, the pulpit and the mausoleum. The poem itself, however, does not provide us with grounds for accepting this assumption. A. Salač, 'Quelques epigrammes de l'*Anthologie Palatine* et l'iconographie byzantine', *Byzantinoslavica* 12 (1951), 14, while being the only

the description of the seventh mosaic, in which the Crucifixion is depicted, and following the lament of the Virgin, one might have expected some kind of epilogue that would round off the work in a balanced way.[10] The other sections of the work present yet more problems.

Theodore Preger was the first to suggest that the surviving text is not the final version, basing his hypothesis on a comparison of section B of the ekphrasis with the more detailed account of miracles 2–7 contained in the *Chronicle* of Kedrenos, which apparently contains fragments of trimeters from Rhodios's account.[11] Preger observed that some of the fragmentary verses in Kedrenos cannot be traced to the ekphrasis and must surely have derived from a later version (of, at least, section B of the poem) by Constantine that has not survived elsewhere. It would have been a copy of this later version that provided the source for Kedrenos's *Chronicle*.[12]

Glanville Downey came to the conclusion that the poem as we have it is unfinished, advancing the following arguments: i) in section C (lines 272, 282), Constantine leads us to believe that he intends to provide also a description of the church of Hagia Sophia, which, however, is not forthcoming; ii) there are a

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scholar to consider the manuscript tradition of the ekphrasis as having preserved the text intact, believes that the original poem was never in fact finished, since he assumes that Rhodios was using as his source a description of the mosaics which likewise came to an abrupt end at this point.

[10]   See Legrand, 'Description', 34; Reinach, 'Commentaire', 68 and 100; R. Reitzenstein, 'Constantinus [14]', *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 4, 2 (7) (1900), 1033; Angelidi, "Η περιγραφή', 99, n. 2; Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 253, n. 14. Reinach, 'Commentaire', 100, and Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 215, n. 16, suggest that Constantine probably continued his account of the mosaic decoration of the church, and included major works depicting episodes from the life of Christ, such as the Anastasis and the Ascension. Of course, with the description of the Crucifixion, the symbolic number seven has already been reached (see Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 253, n. 4). Constantine might have added one or two more descriptions, in much the same way as in lines 804–915, where he describes five mosaic depictions of episodes from the life of Christ, considering them to comprise, collectively, one miracle (the sixth in his overall account), so as to produce a seventh θέαμα. This, however, remains a matter for conjecture for which we have only one small indication: the actual description of the church of the Holy Apostles (423–981), as it has come down to us, does lack a closing passage or epilogue.

[11]   See T. Preger, 'Review' of Legrand and Begleri, *BZ* 6 (1897), 166–168.

[12]   The relationship between Constantine of Rhodes and Kedrenos is interpreted differently by Wulff, 'Die sieben Wunder', 317–318, on the one hand, and by Reinach, 'Commentaire', 69, 73, and Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 217–219, on the other. Although, as Downey states, 'a final solution of the question seems impossible at the present time', Preger's hypothesis seems the most convincing. See also A. Berger, 'Georgios Kedrenos, Konstantinos von Rhodos und die Sieben Weltwunder', *Millennium* 1 (2004), 233–242.

considerable number of prefatory and dedicatory sections (1–18, 19–40, 270ff., 423–431); iii) the statue of Justinian mounted on a horse is described twice (36–51 and 364–374); iv) the description of the mosaics (751–981) appears to be incomplete – one would expect the description to extend also to the other mosaics of the church; v) the poet's name is mentioned in three parts of the work (lines 1–18 [acrostic], 424, 426).[13] Christine Angelidi agreed with this outline. She noted that the Lavra codex preserves a series of verse works, a collection of draft poems and other poetical essays.[14] In her opinion, Rhodios did not manage to complete his work, thus leaving us with a body of somewhat disjointed and ill-conceived descriptions.

Proceeding, therefore, on the assumption that the 'Verses by the asekretis, Constantine of Rhodes' do not comprise a single complete work, but rather an assortment of more or less related verses, Paul Speck examined the structure of the work preserved in the Lavra manuscript on a different basis, by trying to suggest the generative phases that led to the form in which we possess it today.[15] He argued that at least two of the poems appear to have been intended as separate, self-contained works: the description of the seven wonders of Constantinople (19–254) and the description of the church of the Holy Apostles (423–981, which lacks an epilogue). The third poem (255–422) functioned as a long proem to two ekphraseis describing the large churches of the Holy Apostles (this ekphrasis survives) and of Hagia Sophia (this does not). In this section, besides the columns and the wonders, the author refers to other monuments of the imperial capital, which have not, however, been mentioned or described anywhere in the previous verses. Speck remarked that the prose heading that follows line 18 must be referring to the dedicatory epigram that precedes it and to a description of the statues and the high and lofty columns of the city. Consequently the prose heading belongs to a position somewhere before the dedicatory epigram. In the verses that follow (19–254), we find only a description of the columns and little on the statues. Speck believed that the prose heading must refer to the statues of the theatre, of the forum 'richly decorated in gold', and of the Strategion, which are simply mentioned in lines 255–263, without being included among the seven wonders (19–254) of the city described beforehand. Consequently, the surviving poem on the seven wonders must have been transformed later into a new poem, which included the account of the statuary and the columns, or into two new poems, one on the columns (seven?) and one on the statues (seven?).

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[13] See Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 215–216.

[14] See Angelidi, "Η περιγραφή", 97–98, 117.

[15] Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos'.

The latter two, of course, have not survived, but they must still have been in existence when the epigram before line 19 was written.[16]

In his attempt to explain how the present form of the work came into being, Speck assumed that, having written the two (initially) separate poems, the description of the church of the Holy Apostles (423–981) and the account of the seven wonders of the city (19–254), and having dedicated his work (at least, the first poem) to the emperor, Constantine decided to compose a work of a different kind: a general description of all the major monuments of Constantinople.[17] This new work must have contained the following parts: proem and dedication (not preserved); seven (?) columns and seven (?) statues (not preserved); the transitional section (lines 255–422); the church of the Holy Apostles (lines 423–981, probably as it has come down to us, though with the addition of at least one epilogue); and the church of Hagia Sophia (not preserved). There was no place in this new work for the description of the seven wonders (preserved most probably in draft form: 19–254) or for the dedication of the description of the church of the Holy Apostles (1–18). All of these poems must originally have been contained in separate quires.

Speck explained the existence of two dedicatory epigrams (lines 1–18 and 423–436) for the same poem, the description of the church of the Holy Apostles, as follows: the first would have been recited in order for the poet to obtain leave to continue; the second constituted a kind of verse title to the description itself, and would not have been recited, it merely existed in the manuscript given to the emperor.[18]

It should be noted, however, that the second dedicatory epigram (lines 423–436) ends with a prayer addressed to the Apostles requesting that they protect the emperor from all danger, and from the threats of 'wretched' enemies, who are not specified, while the first epigram (lines 1–18) ends with a request to the emperor to protect the poet, a feature that lends, as I think, the work as a whole the air of a poem asking for some reward. In the second epigram, the emperor Constantine is addressed as σοφὸς βασιλεύς and δεσπότης (423), and πάνσοφος ἄναξ (427), but is presented as being under threat, while in the first he is described as the mighty (κράτιστος) Porphyrogennetos, the continuer of the Macedonian dynasty and rightful heir to the throne, the emperor of whose sympathy and understanding the poet is in need (lines 17–18). The different conclusion to each of the two dedicatory epigrams and the general tone of

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[16]   It is for this reason that Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodes', 256, assumes that between lines 254 and 255 we should postulate a lacuna that has arisen as a result of the loss of an entire quire.

[17]   Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos'.

[18]   Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 251–252, nn. 10–11.

each, together with the choice of different characterisations for the emperor Constantine, perhaps indicate that they were each written under different circumstances and, in all probability, at different periods. Furthermore, it is conceivable that the second dedicatory epigram that prefaces the description proper of the church of the Holy Apostles was not intended for inclusion in the 'new work', since two lines (431 and 433) are reused almost word for word in the immediately preceding section (lines 420 and 422), which constitutes a kind of proem to the ekphrasis of the two churches. Of course, lexical and phrasal repetitions are not wholly absent from the work of Constantine, but the repetition of two entire lines within such a short distance of one another looks somewhat suspicious.

Given the fact that the work as we possess it today appears to be contradictory and inconsistent in form, Speck suggested that the text in the Lavra codex represents a posthumous edition produced on the basis of various poetic fragments of the poet.[19] The publisher found the dossier containing the various quires on which were written the poems of Constantine, but some were still only in draft form and had not been completed. He therefore attempted to bring them together into something more nearly approaching a finished whole. That some of the poems have not survived in the form in which they were given to the emperor Constantine is evident from the fact that they bear clear traces of reworking: some of the lines disrupt the meaning, while others do not tie in syntactically to their context and must have been removed by the poet, being a part of a previous version of the work (see, for example, lines 35 and 362–363). Either the publisher was not in a position to discern the different stages in the birth of the text, or he was being highly scrupulous in trying to include in his edition whatever work by the poet he happened to come upon. Lastly, even the title under which the work has come down to us seems to refer, in its generalising wording, to the (unordered) material found by the later editor.[20]

Speck's interpretation has received much credence, though it has now been challenged by Marc Lauxtermann who argues that the editor of the poem was, in fact, Constantine himself.[21]

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[19]   Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 258.

[20]   Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 262–265.

[21]   M. Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City. Constantine the Rhodian and the Beauty of Constantinople', in L. James and A. Eastmond (eds), *Wonderful Things: Byzantium through its Art* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012). I did not have access to this article while writing my Introduction and so have left it to Liz James to deal with the issues arising from this debate later in the book.

3 Date

The conventional date for the poem is at a point in the period 931-944. Taking as his starting point lines 22–26, which mention four rulers together, Reinach was the first to suggest that the work of Rhodios must have been written at some time between August 931 (the death of Christopher, Romanos Lekapenos' eldest son) and December 944 (the fall of Emperor Romanos Lekapenos himself), a period marked by the reigns of four emperors: Romanos Lekapenos, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and the two sons of Romanos, Stephen and Constantine.[22]

This proposal was accepted by later scholars. Only Speck questioned this dating, suggesting that lines 22–26 were an interpolation.[23] His arguments were as follows: i) only in these lines are the four emperors addressed, while none is actually named. In the lines that immediately follow (27–28), however, Constantine Porphyrogennetos is addressed separately, and named. This distinction in favour of the only rightful occupant of the throne would have been tantamount, on the poet's part, to sedition. In the rest of the work, Constantine refers to, or addresses, only Constantine Porphyrogennetos; indeed, the latter is named as the person who commissioned the ekphrasis;[24] ii) line 22 imitates the original line 8. Thus lines 22–26 must have been added at a later date by someone who was preparing an edition of the unpublished works of the poet.[25]

The observation that in one of his epigrams (*AP* 15, 15) written immediately after the death of Leo VI, Rhodios stresses that he is a faithful servant (θεράπων) of the father of Constantine, a remark he repeated twice in the ekphrasis,[26] led Speck to the view that the ekphrasis must have been written shortly after the death of Leo (11 May 912), and that it therefore constitutes a didactic poem addressed to the young emperor-to-be, Constantine Porphyrogennetos.[27] Although the epigram cited by Speck was not written after, but before the death of Leo (between 15 May 908 and 11 May 912),[28] it remains a fact that in his

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[22]   See Reinach, 'Commentaire', 67–68. On the hierarchical order of the four co-emperors throughout this period see O. Kresten and A. E. Müller, *Samtherrschaft, Legitimationsprinzip und kaiserlicher Urkundetitel in Byzanz in der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1995), 37.

[23]   Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 259–261 and 265.

[24]   Lines 1, 278, 286, 301, 387–388, 393, 419, 423–427.

[25]   Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 265.

[26]   Lines 2, 248.

[27]   Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 267.

[28]   As demonstrated convincingly by Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford, 1993), 301–302.

ekphrasis, written certainly after 912, Rhodios also stresses his devotion to Leo. This, however, does not necessarily imply that the composition of the work has to be placed on all accounts immediately after the death of the father of Constantine Porphyrogennetos.

However, the question of the date of the poem remains problematic and unresolved, and it is an issue to which Liz James will return in some detail later in this book.

4 Metrics

The poem is composed of a total of 981 dodecasyllable lines.[29] Of these, 675 have their caesura after the fifth syllable (c5: 69 per cent), while the remaining 306 have their caesura after the seventh (c7: 31 per cent). According to their endings, verses of type c5 are divided thus: proparoxytone (117 lines: 17 per cent), paroxytone (314 lines: 47 per cent) and oxytone (244 lines: 36 per cent). The verses of type c7 are distributed as follows: proparoxytone (207 lines: 68 per cent), paroxytone (91 lines: 30 per cent) and oxytone (eight lines: 2 per cent).

The final ending of the line is paroxytone, with just four exceptions ending proparoxytone: 394, 399, 479 and 809.

In nine cases the verses are comprised of just three words (three-word-trimeter):[30] lines 185, 439, 440, 458, 568, 657, 681, 816 and 823.

The prosody displays some serious errors: τελέσας 10, ἀρετῶν 24, τῇδε 41 (cf. 357), ἤγειρεν 55, ἔστησε 67, γωρυτὸν 137, ῥοπάλῳ 138 (cf. 884), χαλ-καῖς 187, χρεμετίζειν 234, ἄνοδον 246, διευθύναντος σκῆπρα 279, τῇδε 357 (cf. 41), χθονὸς 371, μόνον 391, πολὺ 450, φρυκτωρεῖται 454, τέλεσεν 533, ἄλλοι 600, σχῆμα 602, κροσσωτοῖσι 644, ἰσχυροτέροις 681, δεξιὸν 701, λαγόσιν 745, εὐδοκίαν 767, βροντηδὸν 822, προδιδόντα 867, δολίου 879, ῥοπάλοις 884 (cf. 138), τρόπον 889, προδίδωσι 911, ἐκπληρῶν 921, μυρομένης 944, γέροντος 956. There are also a considerable number of mistakes in the treatment of the *dichrona*, a frequently encountered phenomenon in the iambic poems of the period,[31] while errors in prosody appear on occasions when technical and arithmetical terms, arithmetic and proper nouns are being used.[32]

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[29] Only three of these lines (43, 366 and 496) seem to be 14 syllables in length on account of the proper noun Ἰουστινιανός, but it is obvious that Constantine read the name as four, not six, syllables: /ju-sti-nja-ˈnos/.

[30] M. Marcovich, *Three-Word Trimeter in Greek Tragedy* (Königstein, 1984), 198–211.

[31] Maas, 'Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber', 321.

[32] Technical terms include κύβον 557, ἀψίδας 609, κοσμήτας 678, κοσμητῶν 747. Perhaps the following words also need to be considered technical terms in the broadest sense

Rhodios systematically avoids hiatus.[33] For this reason he very often employs elision[34] and crasis.[35]

Lastly, it should be noted that in order to fulfil the metrical requirements, Constantine adopts the following morphological features, more familiar from epic hexameter or elegiac couplets: i) unaugmented verbal forms: φάγεν 117, νέμεν 148, φύτευσεν 302, πτύξατο 347, δῶκεν 427, πέλεν 472, ἄθρησεν 500, τέλεσεν 533, φέρεν 670, εὐδόκησε 800; ii) extension: εἵνεκεν 327; iii) apocope: ἀντέλλουσιν 448, ἀντολὴ 571. 601. 700. 974, ἀμφανδὸν 789, κάππεσον 823, καππεσούσας 633, κατθανεῖν 875; iv) epic (and tragic) inflexions on nouns, adjectives and pronouns (principally in the dative plural), for example, πλάναισιν 147, βλαστοῖσι 189, ἄστροισιν 505, ἄλλοισιν 511, ζώναισι 677, δεσμοῖσιν 681, καρποῖσιν 730; v) uncontracted forms, such as ἀέθλους 748, κέρδεος 911, χάλκεος 125, χρυσέοις 644.

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of the term: ἀρετῶν 24, γωρυτὸν 137, ῥοπάλῳ 138, χαλκαῖς 187, σχῆμα 602, λαγόσιν 745, εὐδοκίαν 767, ῥοπάλοις 884. Arithmetical terms include ἑκκαίδεκα 594, ἑκατὸν 692. Proper nouns include Ξηρολόφου 34, Κωνσταντῖνος 55. 150. 424. 426, Ῥώμης 61, Θεοδόσιος 184, Κωνσταντῖνε 286, Κυβέλης 296, Πέλοπος 397, Εὐρώπης 518. 648. 654, Ἀνδρομέδας 525, Ἑβραίων 881. 938.

[33] The single exception, as registered also in George of Pisidia, who constituted the model for all other Byzantine poets writing 12-syllable verse, was the prefix δι΄ : δι΄ οὗ 15, δι΄ αὐτῶν 414, δι΄ οὗ 466. 467, δι΄ ἀμφοῖν 577, δι΄ οὗπερ 800, δι΄ οὗ 919. In one case is the hiatus only 'optical': αὖ [= af] Ἄμαξαν 515.

[34] Ἀβάλ᾽ 972, ἀλλ᾽ 117. 150. 211. 299. 309. 350. 432. 472. 510. 529. 534. 685. 871. 900. 912, ἄλλ᾽ 528, ἀνίστατ᾽ 456, ἀσπάζετ᾽ 346, γ᾽ 519. 597. 671. 977, δ᾽ 3. 67. 74. 250. 253. 271. 358. 427. 459. 493. 536. 538. 555. 570. 588. 600. 601. 653. 659. 701. 734. 740. 844. 885. 889. 916. 958, δι᾽ 15. 414. 466. 467. 577. 800. 919, εἶθ᾽ 617, εἶτ᾽ 550. 555. 640, ἔνθ᾽ 455, ἐπ᾽ 275, ἔστ᾽ 243, ἐφ᾽ 196, ἡνίκ᾽ 107, ἧσ᾽ 961, θ᾽ 218. 626. 811. 813. 910, ἵν᾽ 81, κ᾽ 351. 456. 648. 866. 954, καθ᾽ 620, κἄπειτ᾽ 611, κατ᾽ 472. 559. 563, κατάρχετ᾽ 22, κύκλωθ᾽ 698, μετ᾽ 362. 812, μηδ᾽ 857. 874, μήποτ᾽ 499. 964, μήτ᾽ 392, ὅτ᾽ 129, οὐδ᾽ 294. 296. 298. 473. 515, οὔτ᾽ 376, πάντοτ᾽ 685, ποτ᾽ 58. 356, πότ᾽ 974. 976, σπέρμ᾽ 939, στῆθ᾽ 368, σώματ᾽ 489, τ᾽ 85. 89. 122. 152. 190. 193. 312. 330. 490. 604. 655. 718. 744. 791. 794. 822. 952. 963, ταῦθ᾽ 941, ταῦτ᾽ 956, τέρπετ᾽ 341, τῇδ᾽ 57, τήνδ᾽ 66, τόδ᾽ 3. 859. 946, χ᾽ 335. 378. 498. 654. 745. 937, χεῖρ᾽ 45. 155. 367, ὧδ᾽ 260.

[35] Κἀγὼ 411, κἀκ 669. 688, κἀκεῖθεν 633, κἀκεῖνον 757, κἂν 723. 865, κἄν 50. 383. 541. 821, κἄπειτ᾽ 611, κἀπεμπολοῦντα 886, κἀπεμπολητὴν 878, κἀρρητουργίας 527, κἀτελευτήτων 954, καὖθις 497. 831, καὖτός 202. 243. 979, καὖτοὺς 817, κεὐειδεστάτοις 730, ταὐτὸ 723, τὄμμα 262. 892, τὄρος 804, τοὐμοῦ 28, τοὔμπαλιν 842, τοὔνδοθεν 743, τοὔργον 551.

5 *De ratione edendi*

The present critical edition of the ekphrasis of Constantine of Rhodes is based on a new reading of the *codex unicus*, while also taking into account previous editions and corrections that have been suggested by scholars in the past. The *apparatus criticus* does not record the misreadings and typographical or other errors of the earlier editions of Legrand and Begleri. For reasons of economy, not all the suggested corrections of earlier scholars have been noted, only those that are adopted in the present edition.[36] In a few cases, although earlier suggestions are not adopted in the text they are recorded in the apparatus when it was felt that a comparison may be of interest to the reader; this is done when the proposed correction was deemed to be not absolutely necessary for a fair reading of the poem. In the case that a conjecture was made by more than one scholars, it is only the name of the first of them that is noted in the apparatus. The readings of the almost simultaneously appeared editions of the poem are always taken into consideration.

In approximately 20 cases I have added *-ν ephelkystikon* in order to restore the metre, while in one case (ἄνευθε 544) it was necessary to remove it, for the same reason. I have followed the accentuation of the manuscript, and not conventional orthography, when prosody dictated. For example, the acute accent was retained in the forms ἀψίδας 609 and ἀψίδα 577,[37] in the words νάμα 312 (instead of νᾶμα) and στύλος[38] 24, 56, 67, 119, 239 and 364, and the circumflex on κλῖτος 701 (instead of the conventional κλίτος). On the other hand, accentuation of proper names, which in any case are exempt from the normal rules of prosody, is not adjusted to the needs of the metre, and is thus left in its conventional form.

Besides the *apparatus criticus*, the edition is accompanied by an *apparatus fontium et testimoniorum* and two indices (*nominum* and *verborum notabilium*).

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[36] Maas, 'Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber'; Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*; Bartelink, 'Constantin le Rhodien'; Criscuolo, 'Note', 141–149; Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos'.

[37] See also Reinach, 'Commentaire', 66, n. 1.

[38] See also A. Kominis, 'Τὸ βυζαντινὸν ἱερὸν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ οἱ ἐπιγραμματοποιοὶ ''Athena'. Seira diatrivon kai meletimaton 3 (Athens, 1966), 66f. n. 3.

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Chapter 2

Text and Translation

Edition by Ioannis Vassis

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TABULA NOTARUM IN APPARATIBUS ADHIBITARUM

I.   CODEX

A   =   *Athous Laurae 1661 (K 170)*, s. XV, ff. 140ʳ–147ᵛ (vv. 25–981)

A²   =   secunda manus eiusdem codicis, s. XIX/XX, ff. 139ʳ⁻ᵛ (vv. 1–24)

II.   EDITORES ET EMENDATORES

Bar   =   G. J. M. Bartelink, 'Constantin le Rhodien, ecphrasis sur l'église des Apôtres à Constantinople, vv. 539, 665, 882, 888', *Byzantion*, 46 (1976), 425–426.

Beg   =   G. P. Begleri, *Chram svjatych Apostolov i drugie pamjatniki Konstantinopolja po opisaniju Konstantina Rodija* (Odessa, 1896).

Cr   =   U. Criscuolo, 'Note all'*Ekphrasis* di Costantino Rodio', *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, 38 (1989), 141–149.

Hei   =   A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche. Zweiter Teil: Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel* (Leipzig, 1908).

Leg   =   É. Legrand, 'Description des œuvres d'art et de l'église des saints Apôtres de Constantinople. Poème en vers iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien', *Revue des études grecques*, 9 (1896), 36–65.

Ma   =   P. Maas, 'Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber', *BZ*, 12 (1903), 278–323 (= Idem, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. W. Buchwald (München 1973), 242–288).

Sp   =   P. Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos. Zweck und Datum der Ekphrasis der sieben Wunder von Konstantinopel und der Apostelkirche', *Poikila Byzantina 11* (Bonn, 1991), 249–268.

III.   CETERA

<...>	=	adicienda
ac	=	ante correctionem
add.	=	addidit
al.	=	alia
cf.	=	confer
coll.	=	collato, collatis
coni.	=	coniecit
corr.	=	correxit, correxerunt
del.	=	delevit
ec	=	e correctione
e.g.	=	exempli gratia
fort.	=	fortasse
marg.	=	marginalis
m.c.	=	metri causa
mg.	=	margine
m.gr.	=	metri gratia
not.	=	notitia
om.	=	omisit
p.c.	=	post correctionem
prop.	=	proposuit
sscr.	=	supra scripsit, suprascriptum
suppl.	=	supplevit, suppleverunt
transp.	=	transposuit
vid.	=	videtur

f. 139ʳ   Στίχοι Κωνσταντίνου ἀσηκρίτη τοῦ Ῥοδίου

                 Κράτιστε Κωνσταντῖνε, βλαστὲ πορφύρας,
                 Ὡς ὢν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς πατρικὸς σὸς οἰκέτης
                 Νέμω τόδ᾽ αὖ σοι δῶρον εὐαγὲς φίλον,
                 Σύνταγμα φαιδρὸν εὐφυῶς πεπλεγμένον
        5   Τοῖς τῶν ἰάμβων εὐδρομωτάτοις στίχοις,
                 Ἄριστα μέν σοι τῶν Ἀποστόλων δόμου
                 Ναοῦ τε φαιδροῦ τὴν φράσιν δηλοῦν ὅλην,
                 Τὴν ἥνπερ αὐτὸς εἶπας ἡμῖν ἐγγράφειν
                 Ἴσως Θεοῦ σοι καρδίᾳ τεθεικότος.
        10   Νῦν οὖν τελέσας καὶ καλῶς συναρμόσας
                 Ὅλον τὸ δρᾶμα καὶ νεῶ πᾶσαν φράσιν
                 Ὑπουργὸς αὐτόκλητος ἥκω σοι φέρων
                 Ῥοδοπλεκῆ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκηράτων
                 Ὅλον πλακέντα μουσικῶν ἐξ ἀνθέων,
        15   Δι᾽ οὗ στεφάνου σὸν πανύμνητον κράτος
                 Ἱμερτόν, εὐίλατον ἔξω πρὸς βίον·
                 Ὅλως γὰρ αὐτὸς συμπαθὴς ἄναξ πέλεις
                 Ὑπέρμαχός τε τῶν καμνόντων ἐν πόνοις.

                 Προοίμιον τῆς ἐκφράσεως τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων
                 καὶ μερική τις διήγησις τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀγαλμάτων
                 καὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν καὶ μεγίστων κιόνων

f. 139ᵛ   Πολλοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἡ πόλις Κωνσταντίνου
        20   ἡ παμβόητος ἥδε καὶ σεβασμία,
                 ἡ νῦν κρατοῦσα κοσμικῆς ἐξουσίας

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1 cf. 27. 393   9 cf. 302   12–14 cf. Euripides, *Hippolytus* 73–74   15 cf. 58

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tit. ἀσηκρίτη Leg : ἀσηκρίτου Beg A²   4 σύνταγμα Leg Beg : συγταγμα A²   φαιδρὸν
Leg Beg : δαιφρὸν A²   6 τῶν Leg : τοῦ Beg A²   9 καρδίᾳ scripsi : καρδίαν Leg Beg
A²   14 ἐξ : τῶν prop. Sp   17 ὅλος Leg Beg A² : correxi   20 παμβόητος Leg Beg :
περιβόητος A²

Verses by Constantine the Asekretis[1] of Rhodes[2]

[3]O most powerful Constantine, scion of the purple,[4]
as one who has from the beginning been your family's servant,
I respectfully present to you this splendid and pleasing gift,
a magnificent composition gracefully woven
5   from the swiftest lines of iambs,[5]
setting out for you in excellent fashion the complete account
of the house[6] of the Apostles,[7] the resplendent church,
which you yourself ordered me to write
after God, perchance, had so put it in your heart.
10   So now that I have completed and composed well
the whole work and all the account of the church,
I have come to you unbidden, like a servant bearing
a crown[8] woven of roses,
all-plaited with the unblemished flowers of the Muses.[9]
15   Through this crown I shall have as a model for my life
your adored, all-hymned and merciful power,
for you yourself are wholly a compassionate lord
and a champion of those wearied from their labours.

An introduction[10] to the account of the Church of the Holy Apostles
and a partial description of the statues of the city
and its tall and very great columns[11]

From among many other wonders, the city of Constantine,[12]
20   the most renowned and revered,
now holding power over the whole world,

τῆς ἧσπερ αὐτοὶ νῦν κατάρχετ᾽ ἐννόμως
ὡς τετράφωτοι πυρσολαμπεῖς <ἀστέρες>
καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἰσάριθμοί πως στύλοι

f. 140ʳ   25   τῶν τεττάρων τέτταρες ἐξεικασμένοι,
μᾶλλον δὲ πύργοι τῆς Θεοῦ κληρουχίας,
ὦ κλεινὲ Κωνσταντῖνε, βλαστὲ πορφύρας
καὶ σπέρμα τοὐμοῦ παγκλύτου βασιλέως,
κόσμῳ προλάμπει θαύμασι ξενοτρόπως

30   καὶ φαιδρότησι κτισμάτων ὑπερτάτων
ναῶν τε λαμπρότησιν ἠγλαϊσμένων
στοῶν τε μακρῶν σφαιροσυνθέτοις στέγαις
καὶ κιόνων εἰς ὕψος ἐστηριγμένων
φόρου τε Ταύρου καὶ μακροῦ Ξηρολόφου

35   σταυροῦ τε †τὸν φέροντα† πάντιμον τύπον
καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὕψος μακρὸν ἐκτεταμένου
τοῦ χαλκοτόρνου καὶ νεφῶν ὑπερτέρου,
τοῦ τῆς Θεοῦ Σοφίας ἐστῶτος πάρα
ναοῦ φαεινοῦ καὶ προβάθμου κτισμάτων

40   τοῦ παντὶ κόσμῳ πανταχοῦ θρυλλουμένου,
πρώτην ὃς ἔσχε τάξιν ἐν τῇδε πόλει.
   Ὃς ἱππότην ἄνωθεν ἔκδηλον φέρει
Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐκεῖνον ἄνδρα τὸν μέγαν
χρυσοῦν στέφος φοροῦντα καὶ λόφον ξένον,

45   τὴν χεῖρ᾽ ἐπεκτείνοντα πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα
σύνεγγυς ἄστρων γειτνιάζουσαν πόλου,
ψαύειν δοκοῦντα τῶν σελήνης ἁρμάτων·
ὃς ἔσχεν ἀρχὴν τάξεως τῶν θαυμάτων
τῶν ἐν πόλει πρὸς ὕψος ἐστηριγμένων,

50   κἂν ὕστερόν πως τῷ χρόνῳ συνεστάθη
τοῦ πρὶν παγέντος ἐν φόρῳ κλεινοῦ στύλου,

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27 = 393, cf. 1   33 cf. 49   35 cf. 576   36 cf. 180   43 = 366, cf. 496   45 = 367, cf. 155
49 cf. 33

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23 τετράφωτοι Beg A² : τετράφατοι Leg   ἀστέρες suppl. Leg : λυχνίαι suppl. Beg A²
30 κτισμάτων Aᵖᶜ : κλη- Aᵃᶜ   35 τοῦ φέροντος Beg in textu et Leg in app., sed metro
obstat   36 ἐκτεταμμένου A   37 νεφῶν Aᵉᶜ   46 ἄστρων Leg : ἄστρου A   47 δοκοῦντα
Beg : δοκοῦντος A

the city, which you yourselves[13] now rule lawfully
like four-lighted, brightly-shining stars
and like pillars[14] equal in number to the virtues,[15]
25   four matching the four,
or rather, like towers of God's domain,
o renowned Constantine, scion of the purple
and seed of my all-glorious emperor,[16]
this city gives light to the world in marvellous[17] fashion with its wonders
30   and with the brightness of its highest buildings
and the brilliance of its shining churches
and with the dome-fashioned[18] roofs of its long colonnades[19]
and columns[20] set firm to the heights,
both those of the Forum of Taurus[21] and the lofty Xerolophos[22]
35   and that bearing the most honoured form of the cross,[23]
and the one extending far into the heights,
worked of bronze[24] and higher than the clouds,
standing nearby the Wisdom of God,[25]
the bright church and foremost of buildings,
40   talked of everywhere throughout the whole world;
that column had first place in this city.
    It bears conspicuously plain for all to see a horseman on high,
that great man Justinian,[26]
wearing a golden crown and a marvellous crest,[27]
45   stretching out his hand to the sky
so that it draws near to the vault of the stars
and he seems to touch the chariots of the moon.
The column held first rank among the wonders[28]
which had been set fast in place on the heights of the city,
50   although it was erected somewhat later in time
than the famous pillar built earlier in the forum[29]

ἔπειτα τάξιν δευτέραν εἰληφότος
τοῦ πορφυροῦ μάλιστα κίονος ξένου
τοῦ πρὸς φόρον στηθέντος εὐτυχῶς πάλαι,
55   ὃν ὁ κράτιστος ἤγειρε<ν> Κωνσταντῖνος
(πρῶτος γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν πόλει μακρὸς στύλος
τῇ τῇδ’ ἐπάγη καὶ λόφῳ τῷ παγκλύτῳ,
ὅταν ποτ’ ἀρχὴν καὶ πανύμνητον κράτος
ἡ κοσμοπαμπόθητος αὕτη πως πόλις
60   εἴληφε κόσμου καὶ βασίλειον στέφος
καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ στέφανον ἤρπασε<ν> Ῥώμης),
τοῦ τὸν μέγιστον ἀνδριάντα καὶ ξένον
φέροντος ὤμοις, ὥσπερ Ἄτλας τὸν πόλον,
τοῦ καλλινίκου καὶ σοφοῦ Κωνσταντίνου,
65   ὃς πρῶτος ἐκράτυνε τὸ Χριστοῦ σέβας
καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς τήνδ’ ἐπύργωσε<ν> πόλιν,
πρῶτος δ’ ἔστησε τόνδε πορφυροῦν στύλον
καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν μέγαν
χρυσῷ καταυγάζοντα πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν,
70   γράψας ἐν αὐτῷ τούσδε τέτταρας στίχους·
«σύ, Χριστέ, κόσμου βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσπότης·
σοὶ προστίθημι τήνδε τὴν δούλην πόλιν
καὶ σκῆπτρα τῆσδε καὶ τὸ πᾶν Ῥώμης κράτος·
φύλαττε ταύτην, σῶζε δ’ ἐκ πάσης βλάβης.»
75   Ἔθηκε δ’ <αὖ γε> πρὸς θέμεθλα τοῦ στύλου
πλεκτοὺς κοφίνους δώδεκα λυγιστρόφους

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58 cf. 15   59 = 267   66 τήνδ’ ἐπύργωσεν πόλιν cf. Georg. Pisid. *Hex.* 1844 (PG 92, 1575A)   71–76 = Cedren. I 565,1–5 Bekker: σὺ Χριστὲ κόσμου κοίρανος καὶ δεσπότης. | σοὶ νῦν προσηῦξα [sic pro προσήξα] τήνδε σὴν δούλην πόλιν | καὶ σκῆπτρα τάδε καὶ τὸ τῆς Ῥώμης κράτος. | φύλαττε ταύτην σῶζέ τ’ ἐκ πάσης βλάβης. ὑπόκεινται δὲ τῷ κίονι καὶ οἱ δώδεκα κόφινοι.   76–80 cf. Matth. 14,20–21

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54 στηθέντος Leg : σταθέντος A   55 ἤγειρε A : -εν m. c. scripsi   58 ὅτάν A   61 ἤρπασεν Beg : ἤρπασε A   66 ἐπύργωσεν Beg : ἐπύργωσε A   67 πρῶτος : an πρῶτον scribendum?   πορφυροῦν Leg (cf. 53, 119) : πυρφόρον A   72 προστίθημι A : corr. Leg Beg   75 δ’ scripsi : δὲ A   lacunam inter δὲ et πρὸς e. g. verbis αὖ γε supplevi (cf. 392)   76 λιγυστρόφους A : corr. Leg   in mg. hoc scholion manus recentior add.: τούτους τοὺς κοφίνους καὶ τοὺς ιβ: ἀποστόλους ἔχει νῦν τὸ Τικὶλ Τάσι· ὅμως κάτωθεν ὑπογράφεται ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ ῥωμαϊστὶ ὅτι ὁ μέγας Θεοδόσιος ἔστησε τοῦτον· ἔστι δὲ μονόλιθος κύων (sic) εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων, ἡ δὲ χροιὰ τούτου ὑπόλευκος.

that then took second rank,
that column indeed of marvellous porphyry[30]
set up in the forum with good auguries long ago,

55   the one that most powerful Constantine raised up
(for this was the first tall pillar
set up in this city and on its most famous hill,
when in the past this city, desired by the whole world,
took command of the world and the widely-hymned power

60   and grasped the imperial crown,
and the sceptre[31] and the diadem of Rome).[32]
It bears the very great and marvellous statue of a man
on its shoulders, as does Atlas[33] the arc of heaven,
the gloriously-triumphant and wise Constantine[34]

65   who first strengthened the worship of Christ
and the same who first fortified this city
and first set up this porphyry pillar
and also this great statue of a man
that shines brightly with its gold[35] on the entire city.

70   He wrote on it these four lines:
'You, O Christ, are Emperor and Lord of the world;
to You, I hand over this city as your servant,
and its sceptre and all the power of Rome.
Guard her, and preserve her from all harm.' [36]

75   And he also placed at the base of the pillar
twelve woven and plaited withy baskets[37]

τοὺς πρὶν πέλοντας μάρτυρας τῶν θαυμάτων,
ἄρτων ἐκείνων πέντε θαυματουργίας
τῶν χορτασάντων πεντάκις τοὺς χιλίους
80   χωρὶς γυναικῶν καὶ καλῶν παιδαρίων,
ἵν᾿ ἡ πόλις πλουτοῖτο ταῖς χορηγίαις
καὶ μήποτ᾿ ἄρτων ἐνδεὴς γένοιτό πως.
Οὗπερ πρόδηλός ἐστιν ἡ θεωρία
καὶ φέγγος ἄστροις ἐξισούμενον μέγα
85   τοῖς ἔνδον ἀγλάϊσμα θαῦμά τ᾿ ὂν ξένοις
κόσμου τε παντὸς χαρμονή τε καὶ κλέος,
ἅπερ ξενίζει τὴν ἐμὴν ἀεὶ φρένα
καὶ γλῶτταν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐᾷ σιγὴν φέρειν
ὁρῶντα ταῦτά τ᾿ ἔργα θαύματος πλέον.

f. 140ᵛ

Περὶ τοῦ Σενάτου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κιόνων
90   Τρίτον δὲ θαῦμα καὶ περίβλεπτον κλέος
τὸ τοῦ Σενάτου κάλλος ἐκπλαγὲς πέλει.
Ἔστι<ν> δὲ τοῖον τὴν θέσιν καὶ τὴν στάσιν
καὶ τὴν ὅλην σύμπηξιν, ὡς λόγῳ φράσαι·
ἁψὶς ὑπερτέλλουσα πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα
95   καὶ τοῖχος ὀρθὸς τὴν κατάστασιν, φέρων
στέγην ἄνωθεν ἐκ δοκῶν ἠρτημένην.
Πρὸς κίονας τέσσαρας ἐστηριγμένον
κόχλου Τυρίας τὴν βαφὴν μιμουμένους
καὶ μῆκος εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκτεταμένους
100   ἔχει τὸ πᾶν σύστημα πάγκλυτος δόμος
κύκλου τε μέχρι τοῦ φόρου τεταμένος.
Τοίχου μὲν οὖν γε πρὸς βορᾶν ἐστραμμένου,
οἱ δ᾿ αὖ φέριστοι κίονες μεσημβρία<ν>
ἀποβλέπουσι καὶ καλὰς πνοὰς νότου.
105   Οὓς ἠνθράκωσεν ὁ φθόνος τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ

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85 θαῦμά τ᾿ ὂν Leg : θαυμάτων A   89 πλέον A : πλέα Beg   90 περίβλεπτον κλέος Aᵉᶜ
92 ἔστιν Beg : ἔστι A   95 ὀρθὴν A : correxi   97 ἐστηριγμένον (sc. τὸ πᾶν σύστημα)
coll. Parastasis. 43 (p. 50,18 Preger) scripsi : ἐστηριγμένους A   98 τυρείας A : corr. Leg
Beg   99 ἐκτεταμμένους A   101 τεταμμένος A   102 μενοῦν A : corr. Leg   βορᾶν A,
cf. 126. 200   ἐστραμμένος A : corr. Leg Beg   103 μεσημβρία A ut vid. : corr. Leg Beg

which were previously witnesses of the wonders,
the miracle-working of those five loaves
that fed the five thousand,
80 excluding the women and virtuous children,
so that the city might be abundant in resources
and might never in any way be in need of bread.
This column is a conspicuous sight
and its great splendour equalling the stars
85 is an adornment to those at home and a wonder to strangers,
both a joy and a glory for the whole world,
which ever astonishes my heart
and does not allow my very tongue to be silent
whenever I behold these works filled with wonder.

About the Senate[38] and the columns in it
90 The third wonder and spectacle admired by all
is the striking beauty of the Senate.
It is like this in its setting and position
and whole construction, so to speak:
a vault[39] rising up into the sky
95 and a wall, upright in position, bearing
the roof above fastened with beams.
100 The all-glorious house has its structure
97 fixed to four columns
imitating the dye of Tyrian shellfish[40]
and stretching up to a boundless height
101 and it extends out as far as the circle of the Forum.[41]
While the wall faces the north,
the finest columns, however,
face the south and the pleasant breezes of the south westerlies.[42]
105 In former times envy[43] burnt these to ashes

καὶ πῦρ κατεσπάραξε τὴν τούτων φύσιν,
πῦρ ἡνίκ' ἐφλόγιζε τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν,
ὅταν Λέων κατῆρχεν ὁ πρώην ἄναξ,
Λέων ἐκεῖνος τῆς Βηρίνης εὐνέτης,
110 ἧς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Βασιλίσκος ὁ πλάνος.
Ὅμως ῥαγέντες καὶ κατεσπαραγμένοι
ἑστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν στάσιν δεδεγμένοι
ὥσπερ Γίγαντες εὐσταλεῖς καὶ γεννάδαι
λόφου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν κατάστερον φόρον.
115 Ψηφὶς δὲ τοῖχον ὡράιζε καὶ πλάκες
ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν ἀρίστων ἠγμέναι·
ἀλλ' ὁ χρόνος τὰ πάντα καὶ τὸ πῦρ φάγεν
καὶ κάλλος ἠμαύρωσε τὸ πρὶν ἐμπρέπον.
Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν μάλιστα πορφυροῦν στύλον
120 κύκλῳ περιστέφουσιν ὡς χοροστάται
μακραὶ διαυγῶν κιόνων λευκῶν στίχες
ἐκ Προικονήσου γείτονός τ' ἀφιγμέναι·
οὕτως μὲν οὕτως ἐστεφάνωται φόρος
τοῖς κίοσί<ν> τε καὶ δόμοις ὑπερτάτοις.
125 Αὐτοῦ δέ τις πέφυκε χάλκεος πύλη
ἐν τῷ Σενάτῳ πρὸς βορᾶν τετραμμένη
καὶ τοῖχον αὐτόν, ὅνπερ ὄρθιον φέρει,
τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος οὖσα τῶν Ἐφεσίων
τὸ πρίν, ὅτ' ἦν ζόφωσις εἰδώλων πλάνης,
130 ἔχουσα πλαστὴν τῶν Γιγάντων τὴν μάχην
καὶ τῶν θεῶν τῶν, ὧνπερ Ἕλληνες πάλαι
τὴν δόξαν ὠργίαζον ἐσκοτισμένως,
καὶ τοὺς κεραυνοὺς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τὸ θράσος

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121 cf. 659   125–35 cf. Cedren. I 565,7–10 Bekker: ἐν ᾧ (sc. τῷ Σενάτῳ) πύλη ἐστὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος, Τραϊανοῦ δώρημα, τῆς Σκυθῶν μάχης ἔχουσα τὰς αἰτίας τὴν τῶν Γιγάντων μάχην καὶ τοὺς κεραυνοὺς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα σὺν τῇ τριαίνῃ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τόξον ἐσκευασμένον

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106 τούτων Leg : τούτου A   107 ἡνίκ' : ὁπότ' et postea ἡνίκ' sscr. A   109 Βηρίνης Leg Beg : μυρίνης A   113 γεννάδες^αι A   114 λόφον A : correxi   116 an ἱγμέναι scribendum? (cf. 122 ἀφιγμέναι)   120 περιστρέφουσιν A : corr. Beg   121 μακροῖς ... στίχοις A : corr. Beg   122 γείτονος A   123 οὕτως μὲν A : οὕτωσὶν Leg Beg   οὕτως alt. A : οὗτος Beg fort. recte   124 κίοσί A : m. c. correxi   125 χαλκέα exspectaveris   126 βορὰν A   127 στοῖχον A : corr. Leg

and fire tore apart their natural form,[44]
when fire consumed the whole city,
when Leo the former emperor ruled,
that Leo, who was husband of Verina
110   whose brother was the imposter Basiliskos.[45]
Nevertheless, though shattered and rent asunder,
they stand there in their allotted place
like orderly and high-born Giants
at the starry forum on the crest.
115   Mosaic adorned the wall and marble slabs
brought from the best quarries;
but time and fire have consumed everything
and obscured the once-conspicuous beauty.
121[46]   Long lines of translucent white columns
122   brought from neighbouring Prokonnesos[47]
120   surround in a circle like leaders of the chorus
119   that porphyry pillar there;[48]
123   thus in this way the Forum is crowned
124   with columns and houses of surpassing excellence.
125   And there is a bronze gate there
in the Senate facing towards the north
and in the wall itself, which goes straight,
a gate from the temple of Artemis of the Ephesians[49]
from earlier times, during the time of the dark error of idolatry.
130   It depicts the sculpted[50] battle of the Giants[51]
and the gods, to whose glory the Hellenes[52] long ago
celebrated rites in their darkness,
and also the thunderbolts of Zeus and his audacity[53]

καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ σὺν τριαίνῃ τῇ ξένῃ
135   καὶ τόν <γ'> Ἀπόλλω τόξον ἐσκευασμένον
Ἡρακλέα τε τὴν λεοντῆν εἱμένον
καὶ τὸν γωρυτὸν τῶν βελῶν πεπλησμένον,
τῷ ῥοπάλῳ θραύοντα τὰς τούτων κάρας,
καὶ τοὺς Γίγαντας, ὡς δράκοντας τοὺς πόδας
140   κάτωθεν ἐνστρέφοντας ἐσπειρημένους,
ῥιπτοῦντας ὕψει τῶν πετρῶν ἀποσπάδας
καὶ τοὺς δράκοντας ὥσπερ ἐκλιχμωμένους,
δεινὸν βρύχοντας, βλοσσυρὸν δεδορκότας
καὶ πῦρ ἀποστίλβοντας ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων,
145   ὡς τοὺς ὁρῶντας δειματοῦσθαι καὶ τρέμειν
φόβον τε φρικτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τῇ καρδίᾳ.
Τοίαις πλάναισιν Ἑλλάδος μωρὸν γένος
f. 141ʳ   ἐξηπατᾶτο καὶ σέβας κακὸν νέμεν
τῇ τῶν ματαίων δυσσεβῶν βδελυρίᾳ·
150   ἀλλ' ὁ κράτιστος καὶ σοφὸς Κωνσταντῖνος
ἤνεγκεν ὧδε παίγνιον πέλειν πόλει
παισί<ν> τ' ἄθυρμα καὶ γέλων τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.
Ἡ δ' αὖ γε χαλκῆ καλλιπάρθενος κόρη,
ἥτις ὕπερθεν κίονος μακροῦ πέλει
155   τὴν χεῖρ' ἐπεκτείνουσα πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα,
Παλλάδος εἰκών ἐστι Λινδίων πλάνης,
ἧς εἶχον οἱ πρώτιστον οἰκοῦντες πέδον
Ῥόδου ταλαίνης δυσσεβῶς τεθραμμένοι·
δηλοῖ δὲ κράνος καὶ τὸ Γόργ<ε>ιον τέρας
160   ὄφεις τε πρὸς τράχηλον ἐμπεπλεγμένοι·

139–43 cf. Cedren. I 565,10–12 Bekker: κάτω δὲ τοὺς γίγαντας ὡς δράκοντας
ἐπερχομένους, χερσὶ βώλους ῥιπτοῦντας εἰς ὕψος καὶ βλοσυρὸν εἰσορῶντας.   147–
152 cf. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.54.3   155 cf. 45. 367   156–62 cf. Cedren. I 565,13–16
Bekker: πρὸς μὲν δύσιν τὸ τῆς Λινδίας Ἀθηνᾶς (sc. ἵσταται ἄγαλμα), κράνος ἔχον καὶ
τὸ Γοργόνειον τέρας καὶ ὄφεις περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐμπεπλεγμένους (οὕτως γὰρ τὸ
εἴδωλον αὐτῆς οἱ παλαιοὶ ἱστόρουν)

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134 ποσειδὼ A   135 γ' coll. 519 m. c. addidi   136 λεοντῆν A   137 γωρυτὸν Aᵃᶜ : γο-
Aᵖᶜ   139 γίταντας A : corr. Leg Beg   142 ἐλλιχμωμένους A : correxi   143 βλοσυρὸν
A : βλοσσυρὸν m. c. scripsi (cf. e. g. Ephraem Aen. 6334 et 9370 Lampsides)   148
ἐξηπατεῖτο A : corr. Beg   149 βδελλυρίᾳ A   152 παισί A : corr. Beg   γέλως A : corr.
Leg   153 χαλκὴ A   154 ὕπερθεν coni. Leg (cf. Nicet. Chon. Hist. p. 558,47 van Dieten)
: ὄπισθεν A   159 γόργϊον A : corr. Leg

and Poseidon with his marvellous trident[54]
135 and Apollo furnished with his bow[55]
and Herakles clad in his lion-skin
and his quiver filled with arrows,[56]
crushing their heads with his club,
and the Giants, snake-like feet
140 twisted in coils beneath them,
throwing up aloft fragments torn from the rock,
their tongues flickering like serpents,
roaring terribly, glowering grimly
and emitting fire from their eyes,
145 so that those beholding it are frightened and tremble
and shuddering fear strikes the heart.
With such errors was the foolish race of Hellas[57]
led astray and dispensed wicked piety
in the abomination of matters vain and impious;
150 but the most-powerful and wise Constantine[58]
brought the gate here to be a plaything for the city
and a toy for children and a butt of men's laughter.[59]
    Next, the beautiful bronze maiden,
who stands on top of a great column
155 stretching out her hand to the sky,[60]
is an image of Pallas,[61] deceit of the Lindians,[62]
which those who first inhabited the plain of
unfortunate Rhodes had charge of, those nurtured in impiety;
her helmet makes this clear as do the monstrous Gorgon
160 and the serpents entangled around her neck,[63]

οὕτως γάρ, οὕτως οἱ πάλαι μεμηνότες
τὸ Παλλάδος εἴδωλον ἔπλαττον μάτην.

Περὶ τοῦ κίονος τοῦ βαστάζοντος τὸν σταυρὸν

Τὸ δ᾽ αὖ πολυθρύλλητον ἔνθεον σέβας
καὶ θαῦμα καὶ ξένισμα τῆς οἰκουμένης
165   καὶ τὴν τετάρτην ἐνδίκως λαχὸν θέσιν
ὁ τετραφεγγὴς σταυρός ἐστι δεσπότου,
ὁ τήνδε φρουρῶν καὶ περισκέπων πόλιν
ὑψοῦ μάλιστα κίονός <τ᾽> ἐπηρμένος
καὶ μέχρις αὐτοῦ τοῦ πόλου τεταμένος,
170   θρίαμβον ὥσπερ τὴν καλὴν στάσιν φέρων,
ὁ πᾶν καταργῶν δαιμόνων κακὸν θράσος
καὶ πᾶν διώκων βαρβάρων δεινὸν νέφος
ἐχθρούς τε πάντας συγχέων καὶ συντρίβων
καὶ μέχρις Ἅιδου τοῦ κατωτάτου φέρων,
175   τρόπαιον ἐστὼς πάντοθεν νικηφόρον
ἐκ γῆς θαλάττης ἀέρος πυρὸς πόλου,
νίκας βραβεύων τῇ πόλει σωτηρίους.

Πέμπτην δὲ τάξιν θαυμάτων ἀσυγκρίτων
αὖθις δεχέσθω πρὸς παράστασιν λόγου
180   καὶ <τὸ> πρὸς ὕψος μακρὸν ἐκτεταμένον
χαλκοῦν ὑποστήριγμα, ζωγραφοῦν τάχα
πυραμίδος τὸ σχῆμα πυργοσυνθέτου
ἢ περσικῆς τιάρας εὔγυρον λόφον,
ὅπερ Θεοδόσιος ἤγειρε<ν> μέγας
185   ἀγαλματουργῶν ἔργον ἐξηρημένον,
τετρασκελὲς τέχνασμα θαύματος πλέον,

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164 θαῦμα καὶ ξένισμα cf. Hesychios. θ 141   180 cf. 36   181–189 cf. Cedren. I 565,20–22 Bekker: Ὅτι τὸ τετρασκελὲς τέχνασμα ὃ δῆριν λέγουσιν ἀνέμων ἤγειρεν ὁ μέγας Θεοδόσιος, πυραμίδος σχῆμα ζωγραφοῦν καὶ ζῴοις πλαστοῖς κεκοσμημένον βλαστοῖς τε καὶ καρποῖς καὶ ῥοΐσκοις.

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165 λαχὸν A^{ac} : -ὼν sscr. A   168 τ᾽ m. c. addidi : om. A   169 τεταμμένος A   171 κακὸν A^{ac} : -ῶν sscr. A   θράσος A^{pc} : νέφος ut vid. A^{ac} 180 τὸ add. Beg : om. A   ὕψος μακρὸν m. c. scripsi (coll. 36) : μακρὸν ὕψος A   ἐκτεταμμένον A   184 ἤγειρε A : corr. Beg   185 ἀγαλματουργὸν A : corr. Beg

for thus, thus the madmen of old
vainly formed the idol of Pallas.

About the column that bears the cross[64]

Next, the well-known, divine object of awe,
both a wonder and a marvel of the inhabited world,
165   having justly gained fourth place,
is the fourfold-shining cross of the Lord.
It guards and watches over this city
being raised high above all on a column,
stretching up to the very arc of heaven,
170   holding its noble position as though in triumph,
making idle every evil audacity of the demons
and chasing away every terrible horde of barbarians
obliterating and crushing all enemies
and driving them down to deepest Hades.[65]
175   It stands as a trophy bringing victory from all quarters,
from land, sea, air, fire, sky,
awarding victories of salvation to the city.

    Let fifth place among the incomparable wonders
be taken in my representation in words
180   by the loftily soaring
bronze construction,[66] perhaps displaying
the form of a tower-composed pyramid
or the well-turned crest of a Persian tiara,[67]
which great Theodosios[68] set up.
185   It is an exceptional example of the sculptors' art,
a four-legged structure full of wonder,

πλευραῖς χαλκαῖς τέτρασι καθηρμοσμένον
ζῴοις τε πλαστοῖς πάντοθεν κεκασμένον
βλαστοῖσι καρπῶν καὶ ῥοΐσκων ἐμπλέοις.
190　　Γυμνοί τ᾽ Ἔρωτες ἐμπλακέντες ἀμπέλοις
ἑστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ προσγελῶντες ἡμέρως
καὶ τοῖς κάτωθεν ἐγγελῶντες ὑψόθεν·
ἄλλοι τ᾽ ἐποκλάζοντες ἔμπαλιν νέοι
σάλπιγξι χαλκαῖς προσφυσῶσιν ἀνέμους,
195　　ζέφυρον ἄλλος, ἄλλος αὖ πάλιν νότον.
Ἐφ᾽ οὗπερ ὕψει χαλκοσύνθετον τέρας
πτέρυξι χαλκαῖς προσφυσώμενον κύκλῳ
πνοὰς λιγείας ζωγραφεῖ τῶν ἀνέμων,
ὅσας ἄῆται προσφυσῶσιν εἰς πόλιν,
200　　βορᾶς νότος τε καὶ καλός <τ᾽> ἀπαρκτίας,
εὖρος θρασύς τε καὶ βαρύπνοος λίβας.

Κίων δὲ Ταύρου καὐτὸς ἠγλαϊσμένος,
ὃν Ἀρκάδιος κλεινὸς ἵδρυσε<ν> πάλαι
πατρὸς κυδαίνων τὰς ἀριστείας ὅλας
205　　καὶ τὰ τρόπαια καὶ μάχας ἀσυγκρίτους,
ἕκτης τὰ νῦν φέροιτο τάξεως θέσιν·
γραφαῖς τε γὰρ μάλιστα συντεταγμέναις
f. 141ᵛ　　εἰς κάλλος εὐγλύπτοις τε πάντοθεν φέρει
καὶ βαρβάρων Σκυθῶν τε παντοίους φόνους
210　　πόλεις τε τούτων εἰσάπαξ τεθραυσμένας.

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190–94 cf. Cedren. I 565,23–566,2 Bekker: γυμνοί τε Ἔρωτες ἵστανται προσγελῶντες ἀλλήλοις ἡμέρως καὶ τοῖς κάτω περῶσιν ἐμπαίζοντες. ἄλλοι δὲ ἐποκλάζοντες ἔμπαλιν νέοι, σάλπιγξι χαλκαῖς ἐμφυσῶντες ἀνέμους.　　195 cf. 600　　196–198 cf. Cedren. I 566,2–3 Bekker: χαλκοῦν δὲ βρέτας ὑψόθεν πετόμενον πνοὰς λιγείας δεικνύει τῶν ἀνέμων.　　202–209 cf. Cedren. I 566,4–5 Bekker: Ὅτι τὸν τοῦ ταύρου κίονα ἔστησεν ὁ μέγας Θεοδόσιος, τρόπαια καὶ μάχας ἔχοντα κατὰ Σκυθῶν καὶ βαρβάρων τοῦ αὐτοῦ. 206 cf. 702

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191 not. marg. (manu recentiore) τοῦτο ἐστὶ βέβαια τὸ νῦν Τικὶλ Τάσι· ὅμως ἀπορῶ διὰ τοὺς κοφίνους, πῶς ὑπὸ τούτῳ γεγόνασι τῷ κίονι [cf. ad 75–76], πρότερον τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου τιθέντος ὑπὸ ἄλλου κίονος　　193 ἔμπαλοι A : corr. Leg Beg 196 ἐφ᾽ Leg : ὑφ᾽ A　　197 προσφυσσόμενον A : corr. Leg Beg　　200 βορᾶς A (cf. 102. 126)　　τ᾽ m. c. addidi (cf. 218. 813) : om. A　　203 ἵδρυσε A : corr. Beg　　206 ἕκτης coll. 702 scripsi : ἕκτην A

fitted with four brazen sides
adorned on all sides both with carved creatures
and tendrils bursting with fruits and small pomegranates.
190   Naked Erotes[69] entangled in vines
stand there smiling sweetly
and laughing from on high at those below;
in contrast,[70] other youths, kneeling,
blow out the winds through bronze trumpets,
195   one the west wind, and again another the south.
At the summit of this, a monstrous creature made of bronze
with bronze wings being blown around
depicts the sharp blasts of the winds,
all the gales that blow towards the city,
200   the north wind, the south wind, and the fair northerly,
the bold east wind, and the hard-blowing southerly.[71]

The column of Taurus,[72] itself also adorned,
that famed Arkadios[73] set up long ago
glorifying all his father's prowess
205   and his trophies[74] and incomparable battles,
let it now have place in the sixth rank.
For in pictures especially well-arranged[75]
and well-carved to beautiful effect, it presents on all sides
all manner of slaughter of barbarians and Scythians[76]
210   and their cities destroyed for ever.

        Ἀλλ' οὖν τί θαῦμα κρυπτὸν ἔνδοθεν φέρει·
        ὁδὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν στερέμνιον φύσιν
        ἄνω φέρουσαν εἰς κάραν μακροῦ στύλου,
        ὡς τοὺς θέλοντας εὐκόλως ἀνατρέχειν

215   πάλιν τε πρὸς κάταντες ἀνθυποστρέφειν.
        Ταύτην ἀνῆλθον τὴν ὁδὸν κἀγὼ πάλαι
        ποθῶν κατιδεῖν ὑψόθεν κλεινὴν πόλιν
        μῆκός τε ταύτης καὶ πλάτος θ' ὅσον φέρει.
          Καὶ τόνδε τὸν φέριστον ἱππότην μέγαν

220   ἑστῶτα Θευδόσιον, ἄνδρα τὸν ξένον,
        αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀκρόβαθμον ἄμφοδον μέγα
        αὐτὸς πάλιν ἔστησεν ἔμπνοον τάχα
        τοῦ πατρὸς ἆθλα καὶ πόνους τιμῶν ξένους,
        ὡς ἐκ μάχης ἥκοντα πὼς νικηφόρον,

225   ὅταν καθεῖλε Μαξίμου τυραννίδα
        καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας ἤλασεν ἐκ Θράκης ὅλους.
        Οὗ τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὸν ἵππον ὁ βλέπων
        χαλκῷ παγέντα πλαστικῆς τέχνης βίᾳ,
        φρίττοντα χαίτην καὶ σοβοῦντα τὰς τρίχας

230   καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακόντα τῷ θράσει,
        τὸν αὐχένα προύχειν τε πύργον ὡς μέγαν
        σοβαρότητι καὶ φρυά<γ>ματι ξένῳ,
        ὁπλὴν ποδός τε προσδοκᾶν κινουμένην,
        ἵππον νομίζει χρεμετίζειν ὡς τάχα

235   καὶ ζῆν φέροντα δεσπότην νικηφόρον,
        τὸν ἱππότην τε γαῦρον ὄμμα πως φέρειν
        καὶ χεῖρα τείνειν δεξιὰν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
        τρόπαια δεικνύουσαν ἐγγεγραμμένα

211–13 cf. Cedren. I 566,6 Bekker: ἔχει δὲ οὗτος ἔνδοθεν καὶ ὁδὸν ἄνω φέρουσαν.
219–221 cf. Cedren. I 566,6–7 Bekker: καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὸ ἄμφοδον δὲ ἑστὼς ἱππότης αὐτός
ἐστιν ὁ μέγας Θεοδόσιος   231 cf. Hom. Il. 22, 97   237–238 cf. Cedren. I 566,7–9
Bekker: χεῖρα τείνων δεξιὰν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δεικνὺς τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα τῷ στύλῳ
τρόπαια.
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212 ὁδὸν Leg (cf. Cedren. supra) : ἔνδον A   224 ἥκοντα πὼς m. gr. cum Ma (πῶς Ma)
scripsi (cf. ad 245) : ἥκοντά πως A   231 προύχειν τε A : προΰχοντα coni. Cr (sed cf.
233 προσδοκᾶν) 232 φρυάματι A : corr. Leg Beg 234 νομίζει prop. Leg : νομίζειν A
χραιͤμετίζειν A

But there is a wonder hidden inside:
a path through the solid form itself
leading upwards to the top of the high pillar,
so that anyone wishing to can easily run up
215   and return downwards again.
I myself long ago climbed this path,
yearning to look down on the renowned city from on high
both its length and how far it stretches in breadth.
    And this best and great horseman
220   Theodosios, standing there, the marvellous man,[77]
there on the topmost step[78] of the great street,[79]
Arkadios himself set up, almost alive,
honouring his father's triumphs and marvellous labours,
as if Theodosios was returning victorious from battle
225   when he destroyed the rebellion of Maximos[80]
and drove all the Scythians out of Thrace.[81]
Anyone seeing the horse[82] and its violent snorting,
frozen in bronze by the force of the sculpted art,
bristling its mane and tossing its hair
230   and champing at the bit in its eagerness,
thinks[83] that it holds out its neck like a great tower
in its most haughty and marvellous snorting
and that he expects its hoof to move,
and that the horse is perhaps neighing
235   and is alive, bearing its victorious lord,
and that the horseman has an exultant eye
and stretches out his right hand towards the city
indicating the trophies that have been carved

πρὸς ὅνπερ αὐτὸς ἥδρασε στύλον μέγαν
240   φόνους Σκυθῶν τε καὶ σφαγὰς τῶν βαρβάρων.

Περὶ τοῦ Ξηρολόφου

Τὴν ἑβδόμην τε τάξιν ὡς τελεσφόρος
ὁ Ξηρόλοφος ἔμπαλιν λαμβανέτω·
καὐτὸς γάρ, αὐτὸς ἔργον ἔστ᾽ Ἀρκαδίου
φέρων ὅμοια πάντα Ταύρου τῷ στύλῳ
245   τήν τε γραφὴν ἄριστα πῶς γεγραμμένην
καὶ τὴν ἄνοδον οὖσαν ἐγκεκρυμμένην.
Ἁπαξαπλῶς ἅπαντα τοῖν δυοῖν στύλοιν
ὅμοια πάντα, πλὴν διάστασις τόπων·
ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ σκοπεῖ πόλιν,
250   ὁ δ᾽ ἄλλος ἄκραν καὶ πύλας χρυσᾶς βλέπει,
δίκην στρατηγῶν τοὺς λόφους εἰληφότες
καὶ τῷ μὲν αὐτῶν φυλακὴν λαχεῖν μέσην,
τῷ δ᾽ αὖ πρὸς ἄκραν καὶ πυλῶν τὰς ἐξόδους
πύργους τε μακροὺς καὶ βάρεις σκοπεῖν ὅλας.

255   Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοσαῦτα κιόνων πέρι
καὶ θαυμάτων τῶν, ὧνπερ ἡ πόλις φέρει,
λοιπῶν ἀγαλμάτων τε μηχανουργία<ς>
τῶν εἰς θέατρον καὶ πολύχρυσον φόρον
ἐν τῷ Στρατηγίῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφόδοις
260   τοῖς ὧδ᾽ ἐκεῖσε πανταχοῦ τεταγμένων,
οἷς ὥσπερ ἄστροις ἀγλαΐζεται πόλις
καὶ τὄμμα φαιδρὸν πανταχοῦ περιστρέφει
ὡς οἷα δεσπόζουσα τῆς οἰκουμένης.
Δυσὶ<ν> δὲ τούτοις ἐκθροεῖ πᾶσαν φύσιν
265   καὶ πάντας ἄρδην εἰς κατάπληξιν φέρει

243–44 cf. Cedren. I 567,3–4 Bekker: Ὅτι ὁ Ξηρόλοφος ἔργον ἐστὶν Ἀρκαδίου, ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα τῷ ταύρῳ.

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241 τελεσφόρον coni. Leg   245 ἄριστα πῶς m. c. cum Ma (πῶς Ma) scripsi (cf. ad 224) : ἄριστά πως A   246 ἐγκεκρυμμένην coni. Leg : ἐγγεγραμμένην A   252 καὶ A : an ὡς scribendum?   ante 255 lacunam suspicavit Sp   257 μηχανουργία A : corr. Beg   259 ἐν τῷ coni. Sp : ἔν τε A   τοῖς prop. Leg : ταῖς A   260 τεταγμένων Leg : τεταγμένοις A   264 δυσὶν m. c. scripsi : δυσὶ A

on the great pillar which Arkadios set up for him --
240   the slaughter of Scythians and the butchering of barbarians.

About the Xerolophos[84]

As for the seventh rank, bringing completion
let the Xerolophos in its turn take it.
For it too is also a work of Arkadios,
in every aspect like the pillar of Taurus[85]
245   both in its excellently-drawn depictions
and in its hidden ascent.
Everything about the two pillars is absolutely identical,
everything alike, except for the separation of their locations.
For the one of them looks towards the centre of the city,
250   while the other watches the farthest point and the golden gates,[86]
holding the heights, as is the custom of generals;
and to the one of them falls the lot of guarding the centre,
whereas to the other at the farthest point and the exits from the gates
falls the lot of watching over the high towers and all the fortifications.[87]

255   And this is enough about the columns
and wonders, which the city contains,
about the craftsmanship of the remaining statues,[88]
the ones arrayed at the theatre[89] and the golden forum,[90]
in the Strategion[91] and in the streets
260   which run in every direction,
statues by which, like stars, the city is adorned
and turns its bright gaze everywhere
like one who is mistress of the inhabited world.
But with these two edifices the city astounds all nature
265   and sweeps away everyone into utter astonishment;

γλώττας τε πάντων τοῦ λαλεῖν ἀποτρέπει
ἡ κοσμοπαμπόθητος αὕτη πως πόλις·
τῷ τῆς Θεοῦ Σοφίας οἴκῳ τῷ ξένῳ

f. 142ʳ   καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν Ἀποστόλων δόμῳ,

270   ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐξέχοντι πάντων κτισμάτων,
τῷ δ' ὡς ὑπερφέροντι καλλονῇ δόμων.
Εἰς οὓς σκοπός μοι πᾶς τε καὶ σπουδὴ πέλει
καὶ φροντὶς ἐμμέριμνος ἐκτρύχουσά με·
καὶ γὰρ ἔρως τις γαργαλίζει πῦρ πνέων

275   ἐπ' ἔργον αὐτὸ πυρπολῶν μου τὰς φρένας·
τῷ καὶ γράφειν νῦν εὐλαβῶς ἀπηρξάμην
παροτρύνοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ μου δεσπότου
Κωνσταντίνου, Λέοντος υἱοῦ τοῦ πάνυ,
τοῦ πρὶν διευθύναντος σκῆπτρα πανσόφως

280   τὰ τῆσδε Ῥώμης, εὐτυχοῦς Βυζαντίδος.
Οὐκοῦν ἐφεῦρον τὴν ὁδὸν σκοποῦ τάχα
εἰπὼν ἄριστα τοῖν δυοῖν ναοῖν πέρι
καὶ πραγμάτων τῶν ὧδε καὶ τεχνασμάτων,
ὧν αὐτὸς ᾄδω πανυπέρτατον κλέος.

285   Ἄκουε λοιπὸν τῆς ἐμῆς ἀηδόνος,
ἄναξ θεόφρον, εὐσεβὴς Κωνσταντῖνε,
τορὸν λαλούσης καὶ πολύστροφον μέλος
τὴν Ὀρφέως νικῆσαν εὔηχον λύραν
ἐν τοῖς τριμέτροις τῶν ἰάμβων, οἷς πλέκω

290   καὶ σῷ προσᾴδω πανσθενεστάτῳ κράτει·
οὐ γὰρ πονηρῶν δαιμόνων γονὰς γράφω,
τῶν ὧνπερ αὐτὸς ἐτραγῴδει τὸν βίον
ᾄδων ἀσέμνους καὶ σαπρὰς ληρῳδίας,
οὐδ' αὖ ῥυπώσας τοῦ Διὸς αἰσχρουργίας

295   ἢ τῆς κόρης Δήμετρος ἁρπαγὴν πλάνον,
οὐδ' ὀργίων Κυβέλης τυμπανοκτύπων

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267 = 59   288 cf. 769   296–297 cf. Diod. Sic. III 59,1; Eus. Praep. soph. II 2,42

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270 τῷ μὲν ὡς A : m. c. correxi   272 πᾶς Aᵉᶜ   274 τίς A   275 an πυρπολοῦν (sc. πῦρ) scribendum?   279 διευθύναντος scripsi : διευθύνοντος A   282 εἰπὼν A : an εἰπεῖν scribendum?   286 an εὐσεβὲς scribendum?   288 νικῆσαν (sc. μέλος) scripsi : νικῶσαν A : νικώσης contra metrum coni. Leg Beg   292 ἐτραγῴδεις A : corr. Leg : ἐκτραγῴδει Beg

it inhibits the speech of everyone,
this city, the envy of the whole world:
with the marvellous dwelling of the Wisdom of God
and the very great house of the Apostles,
270   the one because it stands out from all buildings,
the other because it surpasses all other houses in its beauty.
All my aim and exertions are directed towards these
and anxious thought exhausts me;
for even desire, breathing fire, excites me,
275   kindling my mind to this task;
and so now I have begun to write reverently
at the urging of my wise lord
Constantine, son of the most famous Leo,
who previously most wisely wielded the sceptre
280   of this Rome, the fortunate Byzantium.
So I swiftly contrived the way to my goal,
extolling the two churches
and their monuments and works of art,
of whose all-surpassing fame I myself sing.
285   Listen further to my nightingale,
o godly-minded emperor, pious Constantine,
singing its thrilling and much-changing melody[92]
which surpasses the tuneful lyre of Orpheus[93]
in iambic trimeters[94] which I weave
290   and sing to your all-powerful might.
I do not write of generations of wicked demons,
whose lives Orpheus recited in tragic style,
singing of impious and ignoble frivolities,
nor with the filthy and sordid deeds of Zeus[95]
295   or with the deceitful abduction of the daughter of Demeter[96]
nor of the drum-beating secret rites of Kybele

Ἄττιν γοώσης ἐν νάπαις ὀρειπλάνου,
οὐδ' ὡς ἐκεῖνος κρουματίζω τὴν λύραν,
ἀλλ' ἐνθέους σοι προσλαλῶ μελῳδίας,
300   αἷς αὐτὸς ὦτα προσφυῶς, ἄναξ, κλίνεις,
λαβὼν ἀφορμὰς σῶν καλῶν προσταγμάτων,
ἅπερ Θεὸς φύτευσεν ἐν σῇ καρδίᾳ·
Μουσῶν γάρ, οἶμαι, δένδρον εὔκαρπον πέλεις
καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων ἔρνος ἡγλαϊσμένον·
305   Μουσῶν ἐκείνων παρθένων ἀκηράτων,
τουτέστιν αὐτῶν ἀρετῶν τῶν ἐνθέων
(οὐχ ἃς Ὅμηρος ὁ θρασὺς ἀναγράφει
θρῆνον πλεκούσας πρὸς ταφὴν Ἀχιλλέως,
ἀλλ' ἃς Σολομὼν ὁ κρατὺς καταστέφει
310   χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις ἐκ λίθων τῶν τιμίων),
ὧνπερ δοχεῖον εὐαγέστατον πέλεις
πηγή τ' ἀναβρύουσα πάγχρυσον νάμα·
τῷ καὶ ποθεῖς, ἄριστε, τοὺς νόμους κλύειν
τοὺς τῶν ἰάμβων ὡς σοφὸς μουσηγέτης.
315   Ὡς οὖν σκοποῦ τυχών γε τοῦ ποθουμένου
ἄπειμι λοιπὸν τὴν ὁδὸν κεχαρμένος
τὴν τῶν ἰάμβων εὐφυῶς ἀνατρέχων
ἐκεῖθεν ἔνθεν, ἔνθα μικρὸν ἐξέβην,
ἅπερ πόλις χρύσαυγος ἔνδοθεν φέρει
320   καὶ προστίθησι τοῖς ξένοις θεωρίαν.
    Τίς γὰρ θάλασσαν εἰσπλέων ταύτην ξένος
ἰδών τε ταῦτα πάντα μακρὰν μακρόθεν
καὶ προσπελάσας τῇ πόλει τῇ παγκλύτῳ
μὴ θάμβος εὐθὺς ἔσχεν ἐκ θεωρίας
325   κατεπλάγη τε τὴν ὑπέρτιμον πόλιν
καὶ θαυμάσας πάγκλυτον ᾔνεσε κράτος,

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302 cf. 9   307sq. Hom. *Od.* 24, 60–61   309sq. cf. Prov. 1,9; 4,9   322 cf. 333   324 cf. 925

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297 Ἄττιν Leg Beg : ἄττειν A   ὀρειπλάνου (sc. Κυβέλης) scripsi : ὀρειπλάνοις A
298 κρουματίζων A : correxi   304 ἡγλαϊσμένος A : corr. Leg Beg   307 οὐχ' A   309
σολομῶν A   315 τυχών A : an τυχεῖν scribendum?   318 ἐκεῖθεν ἔνθεν : fort. ἐκεῖθεν
εἰπεῖν scribendum   319 ἅσπερ coni. Leg   320 προϋτίθησι A : corr. Beg (cf. 72)
θεωρίας coni. Leg

who mourns Attis as she roams the mountain vales,[97]
nor do I pluck my lyre like him,
but I address God-inspired singing to you,

300   to which you, o Emperor, eagerly incline your ear,
as I take my starting from your noble commands
which God planted within your heart;
for I consider you to be the fruitful tree of the Muses
and the splendid offshoot of the Graces;[98]

305   of those undefiled virgin Muses,
the divinely-inspired virtues themselves
(not those whom arrogant[99] Homer records
weaving a lament at the burial of Achilles,[100]
but those whom Solomon the mighty decks with

310   golden crowns of precious stones),[101]
those of whom you are the purest receptacle,
a spring brimming over with an all-golden stream;
and thus you desire, most noble one, to listen to the measure
of iambs like a wise leader of the Muses.[102]

315   So then having gained the desired goal
I shall set off now on my way rejoicing
traversing eloquently the road of iambs
here and there from where I first stepped out,
the sights which the gold-gleaming city holds within itself

320   and places before the contemplation of strangers.
    For what stranger sailing into this sea
and seeing all these things from a long way off
and approaching the all-glorious city
was not immediately astonished by the spectacle

325   and astounded by the most honoured city
and marvelling, praised its all-glorious might,

δόξαν Θεῷ δοὺς εἵνεκεν θεωρίας
τῶν τηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων πραγμάτων,
ὧν ἡ πόλις βέβριθε καὶ πλουτεῖ ξένως;
330 ἢ τίς πάλιν τ᾽ ἤπειρον εὐσταλῶς τρέχων
ἀνὴρ ὁδίτης, ἔμπορος πεζοδρόμος
μακρὰν διελθὼν καὶ πολύστονον τρίβον,
ὅταν προσίδοι ταῦτα πάντα μακρόθεν,
πύργους ὑπερτέλλοντας εἰς τὸν ἀέρα
335 χ᾽ ὥσπερ γίγαντας εὐσθενεῖς βεβηκότας,
τοὺς κίονας μάλιστα τοὺς ὑπερτάτους
καὶ τοὺς δόμους ναούς τε τοὺς ἐπηρμένους
πρὸς ὕψος ἐξαίροντας ἄπλετον στέγην,
οὐκ εὐθὺς εὐφρόσυνον, ἥμερον βλέπει
340 ψυχὴν κατευνάζει τε ταῖς προθυμίαις
καὶ τέρπετ᾽ εὐθὺς τὴν καλὴν πόλιν βλέπων,
τὴν χρυσόμορφον καὶ κατηγλαϊσμένην,
τὴν καὶ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἑστιῶσαν τοὺς ξένους
ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς τῶν ἑαυτῆς θαυμάτων,
345 φθάσας δὲ τεῖχος καὶ πύλαις προσεγγίσας
ἀσπάζετ᾽ εὐθὺς καὶ κλίνας τὸν αὐχένα
κάτω πρὸς οὖδας πτύξατο κλεινὸν πέδον
καὶ «χαῖρε», φήσας, «κοσμοσύστατον κλέος»
εἰσῆλθεν ἔνδον τῆς χαρᾶς πεπλησμένος;
350 Ἀλλ᾽ οἷς ἅπασι τοῖσδε θαύμασι ξένοις
καίπερ μεγίστοις οὖσι κ᾽ ἔξωθεν λόγου
καὶ πᾶν καταπλήττουσιν εὔλαλον στόμα,
ὅμως ἔνεστι τοῦ λαλεῖν τε καὶ γράφειν
δεῖξαί τε τούτων πανσόφους τεχνουργίας,
355 πόθεν τε καὶ πῶς καὶ τίς ἤγειρε<ν> τάδε
καὶ πῶς ποτ᾽ ἐπλάσθησαν καὶ τίνι χρόνῳ
καὶ πῶς συνηθροίσθησαν ἐν τῇδε πόλει.
Ὅταν δ᾽ ἀπίδω πρὸς Θεοῦ δόμον μέγαν,

f. 142ᵛ appears at line 331 margin

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333 cf. 322
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331 ἔμπορος m. c. scripsi : ἔμπειρος A (fort. ex ἤπειρον 330 ortum)   347 οὖδας A   351 κ᾽ ἔξωθεν Leg Beg : κέξωθεν A : an κἄξωθεν scribendum? (sed cf. ad 456)   354 δεῖξαι τὲ A   355 ἤγειρε A : corr. Beg   356 πότ᾽ A

giving glory to God for the sight
of the many and great things
with which the city brims and is wondrously rich?
330   Or again, moving across the land in good order,
what wayfarer, a traveller[103] walking over land,
completing a long and wearisome journey,
when he beholds all these from afar –
towers rising up into the sky
335   and like strong giants standing fast
the highest columns too,
and the lofty houses and churches
raising immense roofs to the heights –
what wayfarer does not immediately gaze with joy,
340   calm his spirit with anticipation
and is immediately filled with delight, seeing the beautiful city,
golden in form and splendidly adorned,
which, even before they arrive, welcomes strangers
with the shimmering of her wonders,
345   and, having reached the city wall and approached the gates,
what wayfarer does not immediately salute the city and bending his neck[104]
downwards to the ground, embrace the celebrated earth
and saying: 'Hail, glory of the world!'
does not then enter in, filled with joy?
350   But although all these wonderful marvels
are the most impressive and are beyond words
and strike with amazement every eloquent[105] mouth,
nevertheless it is possible to speak and write of them,
and to display their most skilful works of art –
355   whence and how and who erected them,
and in what way they were formed, and at what time,
and how they were gathered together in this city.
But whenever I look towards the great house of God,[106]

τὸν τῆς Σοφίας οἶκον οὐρανοδρόμον,
360   ἐκ γῆς ἀναθρῴσκοντα πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα
καὶ τοὺς χοροὺς φθάνοντα τοὺς τῶν ἀστέρων
(καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν δεύτερον πεφυκότα,
τὸν ἀστρολαμπῆ τῶν Ἀποστόλων δόμον)
καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ χαλκοσύνθετον στύλον
365   χρυσοστεφῆ φέροντα λαμπρὸν ἱππότην,
Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐκεῖνον ἄνδρα τὸν μέγαν
τὴν χεῖρ' ἐπεκτείνοντα πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα
καὶ «στῆθ' ἅπαν», φάσκοντα, «βάρβαρον γένος,
Μῆδοί τε Πέρσαι καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἄγαρ γένος,
370   ἀρχῆς ἐμῆς πόρρωθεν, ἔξω τερμάτων,
μήπως ἅπαντας ἐκ χθονὸς ἀμαλδύνω
σταυροῦ φέρων τρόπαιον ἠγλαϊσμένον·
οὗτος γάρ, οὗτος ἐθριάμβευσε κτίσιν,
ὅτε πρὸς αὐτὸν Χριστὸς ἥπλωσε<ν> χέρας»,
375   ἔργοις τὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα σύγκρισιν μόνον
οὔτ' εἰς ἅμιλλαν ἐξισούμενον τρόπων
ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων, ὧνπερ ἤνεγκε<ν> βίος,
χ' ὧν εἰργάσατο πραγμάτων ἀσυγκρίτων
ἐν τῇ κρατούσῃ τῇδε τῶν σκήπτρων πόλει
380   (αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστι πᾶν κατόρθωμα ξένον
καὶ πᾶν μέγιστον ἔργον ἐξηλλαγμένον),
ἔκθαμβός εἰμι καὶ λόγου παντὸς δίχα
οὐκ εὐπορῶν τὰ τοῦδε κἂν ποσῶς φράσαι
ἔχων ταπεινὴν καὶ δυσάντητον φρένα
385   καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ τὰς πύλας κεκλεισμένας
ἐκ τῆς προσούσης τῶν φρενῶν ἀγροικίας.
    Πῶς οὖν κελεύεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων δόμου
τὸ πανάγαστον κάλλος ἐκφράσαι λόγοις
εἰπεῖν τε τὴν σύμμιξιν ἄρρητον μέτροις
390   ἰαμβολέκτοις ᾀσμάτων πολυκρότων,

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366 = 43, cf. 496   367 = 45, cf. 155   368–371 cf. Proc. *De aedif.* I 2,12; Patria Const. II 17 (8) (p. 159,13–17 Preger)   377 cf. 401   385 cf. Georg. Pisid. *De van. vit.* 1 (PG 92,1581A)

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374 ἥπλωσε A : m. c. correxi   377 ἤνεγκε A : corr. Beg   389 σύμμιξιν A : an σύμπηξιν (coll. 93) scribendum?

the house of Wisdom that courses heaven,
360 springing up from earth towards the ether
and outstripping the circles of the stars
(and the one which rose up second after this one,
the star-bright house of the Apostles)
and the pillar fabricated of bronze next to this[107]
365 supporting a magnificent horseman crowned with gold,
Justinian that great man,
his hand stretching to the sky,
and saying 'Halt, every barbarian race,
you Medes and Persians and the race of Hagar,[108]
370 halt far away from my realm, outside its bounds,
lest I, bearing the splendid trophy of the cross,
efface you all from the earth;
for the Cross triumphed over creation
when Christ spread out his hands on it',
375 Justinian who alone was without comparison in his deeds
nor was equalled in the contest of character
among all men whom life brought into being,
and in the incomparable things that he built
in this city that wields the sceptres
380 (for every virtuous action of his is marvellous
and every achievement is extraordinary),[109]
whenever I look towards these I am astounded and totally speechless,
not being able in any way at all to describe his acts,
since I have a mind that is lowly and despondent
385 and gates of reason that have been closed
because of the ever-present uncouth simplicity of my thoughts.
    Why then do you order me to describe in words
the all-holy beauty of the house of the Apostles
and to speak of its inexpressible construction
390 in iambic meters of songs with many beats,

f. 143ʳ

<div style="text-align:center">

ὃν τὸ βλέπειν καὶ μόνον ἔκπληξιν φέρει,
μήτ᾽ αὖ γε τολμᾶν τοῦ λαλεῖν τι καὶ γράφειν,
ὦ κλεινὲ Κωνσταντῖνε, βλαστὲ πορφύρας
καὶ σπέρμα τοῦ Λέοντος εὐγενέστατον,
</div>

395
<div style="text-align:center">

οὗπερ φέρεις γνώρισμα τὸν μορφῆς τύπον
καὶ τὸ βρύχημα τῶν λόγων καὶ τὸ σθένος,
ὡς οἱ πάλαι Πέλοπος ἐξ ὤμων γένους
εἶχον τὸ πᾶν γνώρισμα μαρτυροῦν φύσει;
  Ὅμως ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος
</div>

400
<div style="text-align:center">

θαρρῶν, ὁ πάντων ἀφρονέστατος πέλων
ἀνδρῶν, ὅσους ἤνεγκεν ἡ βροτῶν φύσις,
τὴν τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐμφορήσασαν πάλαι
γλώττας τε τούτων εὐλάλους εἰργασμένην,
εἶμι πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ λόγου ταχὺν δρόμον
</div>

405
<div style="text-align:center">

δρομεύς τις ἄλλος Ἀσσαὴλ φανεὶς νέος
ἢ τῶν μαθητῶν ἄλλος ἠγλαϊσμένος
κούφοις ἰάμβων τοῖς ποσὶ<ν> περιτρέχων.
Καθὼς ἐκεῖνος σύνδρομος Πέτρου πέλων
θᾶττον παρῆλθε τὸν γέροντα τῷ δρόμῳ
</div>

410
<div style="text-align:center">

πρῶτος κατιδεῖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν θέλων,
οὕτως κἀγὼ δίαυλον ἔνθεον τρέχων
πρώτιστος ἦλθον εἰς φράσιν κλεινοῦ δόμου
τοῦ τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ σοφῶν διδασκάλων,
ὅπως δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν πυρίπνοον χάριν
</div>

415
<div style="text-align:center">

τοῦ πνεύματος λάβοιμι τοῦ σοφῶς γράφειν
λέγειν σαφῶς τε <τὴν> ὑπέρτιμον θέσιν
τοῦ τῇδε ναοῦ τῶν σοφῶν Ἀποστόλων
τῷ καλλινίκῳ καὶ σοφῷ μου δεσπότῃ
Κωνσταντίνῳ, Λέοντος υἱῷ πανσόφου·
</div>

420
<div style="text-align:center">

φιλεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ ποθεῖ ξενοτρόπως
</div>

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393 = 27, cf. 1   394 cf. 28   397sq. cf. Pind. Ol. 1,24–27 cum schol. (1,40); Ael. Aristid. 21 (22) 10; Themist. *Or.* 21,250b; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4,70 (PG 35, 592A); Nonn. *Abb. Coll. hist.* Greg. *Adv. Julian.* 1,4 (PG 36,989B–C)   401 cf. 377   405 Ἀσσαὴλ cf. II Regn. 2,18 sqq. 407 τοῖς ποσὶν περιτρέχων cf. Georg. Pisid. *Hex.* 989 (PG 92, 1509A)   408–410 Ioann. 20,3–4   420 cf. 431

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392 τί A   407 ποσὶ A : m. c. correxi   416 τὴν suppl. Leg Beg : om. A   419 πανσόφω^{ου} A

when just to look on it brings astonishment,
and inhibits my speaking and writing,
o famous Constantine, scion of the purple
and most noble seed of Leo,
395   whose demeanour you have, the mark of his form
and the roar of his words and his bodily strength,
just as long ago those of Pelops' race had on their shoulders[110]
the complete sign to witness their origins?
399[111]   Nevertheless, finding courage in that grace of the Spirit
402   which filled the disciples long ago
403   and made their tongues eloquent,
400   I, the most senseless of all men
401   whom the nature of mortals brought forth,
go towards this swift race of speech
405   appearing as some other runner, a new Assael[112]
or another glorious disciple
running round on the nimble feet of iambs.
Just as he who was Peter's fellow-runner[113]
quickly outstripped the old man in the race
410   desiring to be first to see the Resurrection,
so I too, running a double course[114] inspired by God,
have come, the very first to describe the famed house
of the disciples and wise teachers,[115]
so that through them I might receive
415   the fiery grace of the Spirit to write wisely
and to express clearly the greatly-honoured setting
here of the church of the wise Apostles
for my gloriously triumphant and wise lord,
Constantine, the son of Leo the most wise;
420   for he loves them and yearns for them in a marvellous fashion

ὡς ὄντας αὐτοῦ προστάτας σωτηρίους
κόσμου τε παντὸς ἀσφαλεῖς ποδηγέτας.

Σοφῷ βασιλεῖ δεσπότῃ Κωνσταντίνῳ
Κωνσταντῖνος γέννημα τῆς νήσου Ῥόδου.
425   Ἔκφρασις αὕτη τῶν Ἀποστόλων δόμου,
ἣν ἐξύφανεν ἐκ Ῥόδου Κωνσταντῖνος,
δῶκε<ν> δ᾽ ἄνακτι πανσόφῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ
ὡς πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνων πιστὸς λάτρις·
φιλεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς τοὺς σοφοὺς Ἀποστόλους
430   καὶ τὸν φαεινὸν καὶ σεβάσμιον δόμον
αὐτῶν γεραίρει καὶ ποθεῖ ξενοτρόπως.
ἀλλ᾽, ὦ μαθηταὶ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Λόγου
κόσμου τε παντὸς ἀσφαλεῖς ποδηγέται,
σώζοιτε τοῦτον ἐκ φθορᾶς καὶ κινδύνων
435   καὶ τῆς παρ᾽ ἐχθρῶν ἀθλίων κακουργίας,
ὡς ὄντες αὐτοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν παραστάται.

Λόφος τίς ἐστι μακρὸς αὐχένος δίκην
μέσην παρέρπων τὴν πόλιν Κωνσταντίνου
τὴν χρυσολαμπόμορφον ἠγλαϊσμένην,
440   λόφος θεοστήρικτος, ἐ<σ>φραγισμένος
ἀρχῆθεν ἀρχῆς εἰς νεὼν Ἀποστόλων,
ὅταν Τριὰς παρῆξεν εἰς φάος τόδε
κόσμου τὸ πᾶν σύστημα, θαῦμα τὸ ξένον,
γῆν οὐρανόν τε καὶ πυρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν
445   τῶν ὑδάτων τε τὴν κατάρρυτον φύσιν
καὶ τοὺς γενάρχας τοῦ βροτῶν παντὸς γένους·
λόφος μέγιστος ἑπτάδος κρατῶν λόφων
(ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἀντέλλουσιν ἔνδοθεν λόφοι
τῆς καλλιμόρφου καὶ σοφῆς Βυζαντίδος),

_____

421 cf. 436   422 = 433   431 cf. 420   433 = 422   436 cf. 421
_____

427 δῶκε A : m. c. correxi   438 μέσον A : corr. Leg   440 ἐφραγισμένος A : corr. Leg Beg

since they are his saving guardians
and the unfailing guides of the whole world.

To the wise emperor and lord Constantine
Constantine, offspring of the island of Rhodes.
425   This is the account of the house of the Apostles,
which Constantine from Rhodes wove,
and gave to the most wise lord Constantine
because he was a faithful servant of his father;[116]
for he himself [Constantine VII] loves the wise Apostles
430   and their splendid and revered house
he honours and marvellously desires.
But, O disciples of the benevolent Word,
unfailing guides of the whole world,
may you keep him from destruction and dangers
435   and the malice coming from wretched enemies
since you are his defenders before God.

There is a long hill like a neck
creeping through the middle of Constantine's city[117]
gold-gleaming in form and splendid,
440   a hill established by God, sealed
as a church of the Apostles from the beginning of the beginning
when the Trinity brought into this light of day
the whole composition of the world, the marvellous wonder,
earth, heaven, and the essence of fire,
445   the flowing nature of the waters,
and the ancestors of the whole race of mortals.
This very high hill commands the sevenfold hills
(for seven hills rise up within
the beautifully-formed and wise Byzantium)

450 τῶν ἑπτὰ πολὺ πρόκριτος λόφων πέλων,
τέταρτος ἑστὼς ἐν μέσῃ κλεινῇ πόλει,
ὑπερφέρων ἅπαντας ὕψει καὶ πλάτει,

f. 143ᵛ ὃς πρῶτος αὐγαῖς ἡλίου σελασφόροις
καὶ τῶν σελήνης φρυκτωρεῖται λαμπάδων·

455 ἔνθ’ ὁ κράτιστος τῶν Ἀποστόλων δόμος
ἀνίστατ’ ἐκ γῆς κ’ ἐμφανέστατος πέλει,
ὥσπερ τις ἄλλος ἀστροσύνθετος πόλος
πενταστρόμορφος, συγκροτούμενος κάραις
τρισὶ<ν> μὲν ὀρθαῖς, ταῖς δυσὶ<ν> δ’ ἐγκαρσίαις,

460 δοκῶν ἅπασαν συμπερικλείειν πόλιν·
εὐρὺς γάρ ἐστιν, εὐρυσύνθετος λίαν
σταυροῦ φέρων τύπωσιν ἔνθεον ξένην.
Σταυρὸς γὰρ ἀρχὴ πίστεως χριστωνύμων
καὶ δόξα καὶ καύχημα τῶν Ἀποστόλων·

465 Χριστοῦ γάρ ἐστι σκῆπτρον ὡραϊσμένον,
δι’ οὗ καθεῖλε τοῦ Σατὰν μέγα κράτος,
δι’ οὗ σέσωσται τὸ βροτῶν ἅπαν γένος·
τῷ καὶ νεὼς ἄριστα τῶν Ἀποστόλων
σταυροῦ φέρει πρόγραμμα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα,

470 οἶκος μαθητῶν χρηματίζων δεσπότου
σταυρῷ καταργήσαντος Ἅιδου τὸ κράτος.
Ἀλλ’ οὖν κατ’ ἀρχὰς οὐ τόσος μορφὴν πέλεν,
οὐδ’ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὕψος ἐστηριγμένος
ὁ πανσέβαστος οὑτοσὶ κλεινὸς δόμος

475 ὁ τῶν μαθητῶν, ὦ τρισόλβιον γένος,
ἀλλὰ μικράν πως τὴν κατάστασιν φέρων,
Κωνσταντίου τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ θεσπισμάτων
λαβόντος ἀρχὴν τοῦδε παγκλύτου δόμου,
ὁπηνίκα προύβα<ι>νε πίστις ἔνθεος

480 καὶ φῶς τὸ Χριστοῦ πᾶσαν ηὔγασε κτίσιν·

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457–460 cf. 501–505   466 cf. 920   477 cf. Proc. *De aedif.* I 4,19
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457 ὥσπέρ A   459 τρισὶ ... δυσὶ A : m. c. correxi   461 εὐροσύνθετος ut vid. A : corr. Beg   476 an φέρεν scribendum?   477 Κωνσταντίου A : Κωνσταντίνου Leg Beg   479 προὔβανε A : corr. Leg Beg

450   far excelling the seven hills,
         standing fourth[118] in the middle of the renowned city,
         surpassing all the others in height and breadth,
         the first to flash signals through the light-bringing rays of the sun
         and through the moon's torches.
455   There, the mightiest house of the Apostles
         rises from the ground and is most visible
         like another star-composed celestial heavenly arc
         formed from five stars brought together at their peaks
         of which three are upright and two oblique,[119]
460   appearing to enfold the whole city;
         for it is broad, exceedingly broad in its composition,
         displaying the God-inspired marvellous form of the cross.[120]
         For the cross is the beginning of the faith of Christians
         and the glory and boast of the Apostles;
465   for it is the glorious sceptre of Christ,
         through which he destroyed the great power of Satan,[121]
         through which the whole mortal race had been saved;
         therefore too the church of the Apostles most rightly
         bears the example and likeness of the cross,
470   being styled 'house of the disciples' of the Lord
         who abolished by the cross the power of Hades.[122]
           But as a result, in the beginning it was not so great in form,
         nor set up to so great a height,
         this most-revered and famous house,
475   that of the disciples, O thrice-blessed race,
         rather it had a small structure,
         after Constantius[123] first by decree
         undertook the establishment of this all-famous house,
         at the time when the God-inspired faith was advancing
480   and the light of Christ illuminated the whole of creation;

οὗτος γάρ, οὗτος τὸν θεόπτην Ἀνδρέαν
ἐκ τῶν Πατρῶν ἤνεγκεν εὐσεβεῖ τρόπῳ
ἐξ Ἑλλάδος Λουκᾶν τε τὸν θεηγόρον
καὶ Τιμόθεον αὖθις ἐκ τῆς Ἐφέσου,
485   ὑπουργὸν Ἀρτέμιον εὑρηκὼς τότε,
τὸν θαυματουργὸν μάρτυρα στεφηφόρον,
πρὸ τοῦ δίαυλον μαρτύρων δραμεῖν ξένον·
κτίσας δὲ τόνδε τὸν περίκλυτον δόμον
καὶ σώματ᾽ ἐνθεὶς ἐν σορῷ χρυσηλάτῳ
490   τοῦ τ᾽ Ἀνδρέου Λουκᾶ τε καὶ Τιμοθέου
κλῆσιν παρέσχε τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀρτίως
τῶν καλλινίκων καὶ σοφῶν Ἀποστόλων,
οὐ τῶν τριῶν γε, τῶν δ᾽ ὅλων πάντων ἅμα.
ἔπειτα, μακροῦ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ συντόνου
495   παριππάσαντος, ὁ κρατὺς καὶ γεννάδας
Ἰουστινιανὸς καθεῖλεν εἰς τὸ γῆς πέδον
καὖθις μετεσκεύασεν εἰς τὸ νῦν μέγα
καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόβλημα χ᾽ ὕψωμα ξένον,
ὃ μήποτ᾽ εἶδεν ἄλλο φέγγος ἡλίου,
500   μηδὲ βροτῶν τις ἔργον ἄθρησε<ν> τόσον·
ἄλλος γάρ, ἄλλος οὐρανὸς νέος πέλει
στηριγμὸν ἐν γῇ τόνδε δεύτερον φέρων
πεντάστεγός τις σφαιροσύνθετος σκέπη
πᾶσαν περικλείουσα τῷ δοκεῖν πόλιν,
505   ἄστροισιν ἄλλοις κρείττοσι<ν> κεκασμένος.
   Εἴπερ πόλον φάσκουσιν Ἑλλήνων λόγοι
φέρειν ἐν ἄστροις ἄνδρας, ἵππους, θηρία
ἄρκτους τε καὶ λέοντας ἠγριωμένους
ταύρους τε καὶ δράκοντας, οἴμοι τῆς πλάνης,
510   ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ὁ κλεινὸς τῶν Ἀποστόλων δόμος
ἄλλοισιν ἄστροις μαρμαρύσσεται ξένοις,
τῶν φωτομόρφων εἰκόνων διαυγίαις,

481–484 cf. Philost. *Hist. eccl.* III fr. 2, 2b Winkelmann; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 542,7–18 Dindorf; Cedren. I 518,8–10 Bekker   488 cf. 736   496 cf. 43. 366   501–505 cf. 457–460

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495 παριππάσαντος m. c. scripsi : παριππεύσαντος A   496 Ἰουστινιανὸς Leg Beg : ἰουστιανὸς A   500 τίς A   ἄθρησε A : corr. Beg   505 ἄστροισιν : ἄστρασιν coni. Beg (an ecte? sed cf. 511)   κρείττοσι A : m.c. correxi   512 διαυγίαις m. c. scripsi (coll. Suda δ 803) : διαυγείαις A

for he, he brought Andrew[124] who saw God
from Patras in pious fashion,
from Greece, Luke[125] who spoke of God,
and likewise Timothy from Ephesos,[126]
485 using then Artemios[127] as his servant,
Artemios, the wonder-working, crown-bearing martyr,
before he ran the martyrs' wonderful double course.
After Constantius founded this most renowned house
and enclosed[128] in a chest of beaten gold the bodies
490 of Andrew and Luke and Timothy,
he supplied the present appropriate appellation
of the gloriously triumphant and wise Apostles,
not just of the three, but of all of them together.
Then, after a long and tense time
495 had galloped by, the mighty and noble
Justinian razed it to ground level
and transformed once again it into its present great size
and design and elevation and marvellous height,
the like of which the sun has never seen,[129]
500 nor has any mortal beheld so great a work;
for it is another, a different new heaven
supporting this second foundation on earth,
a five-roofed dome-composed shelter
seemingly enclosing the whole city,
505 a heaven furnished with other mightier stars.
      If the stories of the Hellenes[130] assert that the arc of heaven
supports in stars men, horses, wild beasts,
bears and lions made savage,
bulls and serpents, alas for the error,
510 then the famous house of the Apostles
flashes with different marvellous stars,[131]
with the rays from light-formed images

λάμπουσιν ὥσπερ ἡλίου φαιδρὸν σέλας·
οὐ γὰρ τὸν Ὠρίωνος ἄγριον κύνα,
f. 144ʳ   515   οὐδ᾽ αὖ Ἅμαξαν τὴν παλίστροφον φέρει,
οὐκ Ἄρκτον αὐτὴν τοῦ Διὸς παιδοτρόφον,
οὐ Πλειάδων χορείαν ἐζοφωμένην,
οὐ τὸν κεράστην Ταῦρον αἰσχρὸν Εὐρώπης,
οὐ βουφάγον Λέοντα τόν γ᾽ Ἡρακλέους,
520   οὐ Τοξότην κένταυρον, ἔκφυλον τέρας,
οὐχ ἵππον αὐτὸν Πήγασον ταχυδρόμον,
οὐ τοὺς Διδύμους ἐκ Διὸς Λήδης κόρους,
οὐ τὴν τιθηνὸν τοῦ Διὸς Ἀμαλθίαν,
οὐκ Ἀργοναυτῶν τὸ τρισάθλιον σκάφος,
525   οὐκ Ἀνδρομέδας οὐ γάμους τοῦ Περσέως,
οὐκ Ἀφροδίτης ἀστέρα καὶ τὸν Κρόνον,
οὐ τὰς Διὸς γονάς τε κἀρρητουργίας,
οὐκ ἄλλ᾽ ὅσα πλάττουσιν <οἱ> μυθογράφοι,
ἀλλ᾽ αὐτόν, αὐτὸν τὸν Θεοῦ πατρὸς Λόγον,
530   τὸν Χριστὸν ἀνδρωθέντα παρθένου κόρης
μητρός τ᾽ ἀνάνδρου τοῦ βροτῶν χάριν γένους
καὶ θαύματ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντα, θαυματουργίας
θ᾽ ἅ<σ>περ τέλεσεν ἐν βίῳ τῷδ᾽ ἐμπρέπων.
  Ἀλλ᾽ ἀμφὶ τῶνδε θαυμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων
535   τὰ νῦν σιγάσθω τάξεως χάριν λόγος,
καιροῦ δ᾽ ἐποτρύνοντος ἔμπαλιν φράσω
Θεοῦ θέλοντος καὶ λόγον δωρουμένου·
νῦν δ᾽ ἀμφὶ ναοῦ σχημάτων πολυτρόπων
καὶ κτίσματος μάλιστα πάντη που ξένου
540   εἰπεῖν ἀναγκαῖός με νύσσει τις πόθος.
Κἂν μηχανουργῶν πραγμάτων εἰμὶ ξένος

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513 cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 926   516 cf. Arat. *Phaen.* 27–35   519 βουφάγον Λέοντα cf. Anth. Pal. VI 217,4; VII 426,1–2; Sud. α 3019; β 473   536 cf. ad vv. 751–981   539 cf. 665. 926

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521 οὐχ᾽ A   524 ἀργὸν αὐτῶν Aᵃᶜ   528 οὐκ ἄλλα ὅσα πλάττουσι μυθογράφοι A : corr. Ma   531 τἀνάνδρου A : corr. Leg Beg   533 ἅπερ (sc. θαυματουργίας) scripsi : ἅπερ A τέλεσεν A : an τέλεσσεν m. c. scribendum?   534 τῶνδε Leg Beg : τόνδε A : an τοῦδε (sc. ναοῦ) coll. 383 et 538 scribendum?   539 πάντη coni. Bar : παντί A   540 τίς A

shining like the bright light of the sun;
for the church does not display[132] the savage dog of Orion,[133]

515   nor indeed the Plough that turns backwards,[134]
nor the Great Bear herself, a nurturer of Zeus,[135]
nor the darkened company of the Pleiades,[136]
nor the horned Bull who dishonoured Europa,[137]
nor the ox-eating Lion of Herakles,[138]

520   nor the centaur Archer, unnatural monster,[139]
nor that horse, swift running Pegasus,[140]
nor Leda's twin boys by Zeus,[141]
nor the nurse of Zeus, Amalthia,[142]
nor the thrice-unhappy hull of the Argonauts,[143]

525   nor the marriage of Andromeda and Perseus,[144]
nor Aphrodite's star[145] and Kronos,[146]
nor the offspring[147] and filthy lewdness of Zeus,[148]
nor anything else that the writers of fable fashion,
but it bears Him, Him the Word[149] of God the Father,

530   Christ made man of a virgin maiden
and husbandless mother for the sake of mortals
and all his wonders, and the miracles
that he accomplished conspicuously in his life.
    But let my discourse about these wonders and deeds

535   fall silent now for the sake of order;
yet I will describe them again when the occasion is pressing
and God wills it and grants me speech.
But now, concerning the intricate designs of the church
and the building most marvellous in every way,

540   an urgent desire pricks me to speak.
Even if I am a stranger to the deeds of architects[150]

γεωμετρῶν τε πανσόφου θεωρίας,
ὅμως ὁ δείξας τοὺς Ἀποστόλους Λόγος
διδασκάλων ἄνευθε γραμμάτων πάλαι
545   αὐτὸς διδάξει τοῦ λαλεῖν με συντόνως
καὶ τῶνδε χωρὶς μηχανὰς πολυτρόπους
τῶν ὧνπερ αὐτοὶ συντεθείκασιν λόγων.
   Ἀπάρχεται δὲ κτίσματος τοῦ παγκλύτου
ὁ τόνδε ναὸν πανσόφως ἀπαρτίσας,
550   εἴτ᾽ Ἀνθέμιος εἴτ᾽ Ἰσίδωρος νέος
(τούτων γὰρ εἶναι τοὖργον ἔκδηλον τόδε
ἅπαντες εἶπον ἵστορες λογογράφοι),
κύβου χαράξας γραμμικὴν θεωρίαν·
κύβος δὲ γραμμὴ τετρασύνθετος πέλει
555   ἴσας ἔχουσα πάντοθεν διαστάσεις
εἴτ᾽ ἐξ ἀριθμῶν, εἴτε δ᾽ οὖν καὶ γραμμάτων.
Τοῦτον χαράξας τὸν κύβον ὁ τεχνίτης
καὶ σχῆμα τοῦδε κυβικὸν πρὸς γῆς πέδον
πήσσει μὲν ὀρθῶς γωνίας κατ᾽ ἐμβόλους
560   κάτω πρὸς οὖδας τέτταρας ἀντιστρόφους,
διπλᾶς ἁπάσας, διπλομόρφους εὐθέτους·
πήσσει δὲ πινσοὺς τετραρίθμους ἐξίσης
τῶν ὧνπερ εἶπον γωνιῶν κατ᾽ ἐμβόλους,
τετρασκελεῖς τε τετραπλοῦς τῇ συνθέσει
565   τοὺς τὴν μέσην σφαῖράν τε καὶ τὰς ἀψίδας
φέρειν λαχόντας ἀσφαλῶς ἡδρασμένας.
Τόσαις τε πλευραῖς ἐξ ἑνὸς μεσομφάλου
ἀντιπροσώπους ταύτας ἐγκαταρτίσας
διπλᾶς ἁπάσας σταυρικῶς τεταγμένας,
570   ἔπειτ<α δ᾽> αὐτὸ τουτοῖ σχῆμα ξένον
πρὸς ἀντολὴν δύσιν τε καὶ μεσημβρίαν

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550 = 640   564 = 595, cf. 606

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544 ἄνευθεν A : m. c. correxi   555 εἴσας A : corr. Leg Beg   560 οὖδας A   561 διπλὰς
A   562 πινσοὺς A^pc : πισσοὺς A^ac   ἐξ ἴσης A : corr. Leg   563 ἐμβόλους Leg Beg (cf.
559) : ἐμβό^λ A   565 σφαῖραν τὲ A   570 ἔπειτα δ᾽ coni. Beg : ἔπειτ᾽ A   571 ἀνατολὴν
A : corr. Beg

and to the most clever theories of geometers,
nevertheless, the Word which enlightened the Apostles
long ago without letters as teachers
545   will teach me to speak eagerly
about the manifold designs, even without the architects
and moreover in the words which they themselves composed.[151]
    He made a beginning on the all-glorious construction,
he, the one who completed this church in the cleverest way,
550   whether Anthemios or the younger Isidore[152]
552   (for all the prose writers of narratives[153] said
551   that this was clearly their work),
after having marked out the linear form of a cube;[154]
a cube is a four-sided[155] outline
555   with equal dimensions on all sides
whether in numbers, or also thus in lines.
The craftsman,[156] having marked this cube
and its cubed form on the surface of the ground
joins the corners[157] accurately through porticoes[158]
560   on the ground, four turned to face one another,
all corners double, double in well-arranged form.
He joins the cubical masonry piers,[159] equally four in number,[160]
through porticoes to those four corners of which I spoke,
piers that are four-sided[161] and fourfold in composition,
566[162]   intended to bear in safe position
565   the central dome and the vaults.
To the many sides from one mid-point[163]
he attached these vaults facing each other,
all drawn up double, like a cross,
570   then he fixed this wondrous form itself
towards the east, the west and the south

	ἄρκτον τε πήξας, πεντασύνθετον δόμον
576	σταυροῦ φέροντα τὸν σεβάσμιον τύπον
573	ἤγειρεν, ἐξέτεινεν, ἤπλωσε<ν> μέγαν
	σφαίραις τοσαύταις ἐγκαλύψας τὴν στέγην
575	ὅσας περ ἐξήπλωσε κύκλῳ σφενδόνας

f. 144ᵛ 577 πλέκων δι' ἀμφοῖν ἀψίδα πρὸς ἀψίδα,
         κύλινδρον αὖθις τῷ κυλίνδρῳ προσπλέκων
         πινσῷ τε πινσὸν ἄλλον ἄλλῳ προσδέων
580   καὶ σφαῖραν ἡμίτμητον οἷάπερ λόφον
         ἄλλη συνάπτων σφαιρομόρφῳ συνθέσει.
         Κάτω δὲ πινσοὺς γειτνιάζειν ἐξίσης
         ἔταξεν ἄμφω τεχνικῶς καὶ πανσόφως
         κρηπῖδας αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλεῖς ἐναρμόσας
585   σκέλη τε βάσεις ἰσχυρὰς ἀνενδότους,
         μήπως διασπασθέντες ἀλλήλων βάρει
         σφήλωσι κύκλους ἀψίδων ὑπερτάτους,
         σφαῖραν δ' ὑποκλάσωσι πρὸς τὸ γῆς πέδον.
            Οὕτως τὸ πῆγμα τοῦ νεὼ συναρμόσας
590   ὡς ἄλλο μηδὲν τῶν πρὸ τοῦδε κτισμάτων
         ἐν τέτρασι<ν> τέσσαρας ἔστησε<ν> βάσεις
         τῶν πινσοπύργων τετραρίθμους ἐξίσης
         τῆς τετράδος τὸ μέτρον πανταχοῦ φέρων,
         ὡς ἑκκαίδεκα πινσοπύργους εὐθέτους
595   τετρασκελεῖς τε τετραπλοῦς τῇ συνθέσει
         πάντας γενέσθαι καὶ τοσαύτας ἀψίδας
         χωρίς γ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἄκρας λελαχότων,
         οἳ τάξιν ἐσχήκασι τὴν πανυστάτην·
         οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔλαχον μεσημβρίαν,
600   οἱ δ' ἄρκτον αὐτήν, ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν δύσιν,
         οἱ δ' ἀντολήν τε τὴν ῥοδόχρουν ἐς βάσιν·

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576 cf. 35 580 σφαῖραν ἡμίτμητον Georg. Pisid. *Hex.* 98 (PG 92, 1439A) 595 = 564, cf. 606 600 cf. 195

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573 ἤπλωσε A : corr. Beg 576 post 572 versum transp. Hei 582 ἐξ ἴσης A : corr. Leg 584 κρηπίδας A : corr. Beg 589 νεῶ A : corr. Beg 591 τέτρασι A : m. c. correxi ἔστησε A : corr. Beg 592 ἐξ ἴσης A : corr. Leg   599 ἔλαχον A : an ἔλλαχον m. gr. scribendum?   600 οἵ A   ἄλλην – δύσιν : an δύσιν ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν m. c. scribendum?   601 οἵ A

and the north, a great five-composed house

576[164]   with the revered form of the cross;

573   he raised, he stretched out, he unfolded it,

574   having covered the roof with as many domes as

575   the arches[165] he had unfolded in a circle,

577   weaving on both sides vault upon vault,

weaving again together cylinder with cylinder,[166]

binding one pier to another pier

580   and joining together a dome cut in two[167] like a crest

to another dome-shaped structure.

Below, skilfully and most cleverly,

he arranged piers to sit together on both sides

having fixed stable foundations to them,

585   walls and strong unyielding bases,

lest perchance, torn apart from one another through their weight,

they brought down the highest circles of the vaults,

and shattered the dome upon the surface of the ground.

Thus, after he fitted together the framework of the church,

590   like no other building before this one,

he set up in four groups four foundations,[168]

four in number, equal to the towering piers,[169]

using everywhere the measure of four,

so that sixteen well-arranged towering piers,

595   four-sided and four-fold in composition,[170]

all formed the same number of vaults,

except those vaults allotted the summit

which held the very last position.

Some of them were allotted the south,

600   others the north itself, yet others again the west,

others the rosy-hued east as foundation;

οὕτως γάρ, οὕτως κυβικὸν σχῆμα θέλει
διαγράφεσθαι τετραρίθμῳ συνθέσει
ἴσας τ᾽ ἐπίσης τῶν μερῶν βάσεις φέρειν.
605   Ἄλλοι δὲ πινσοὶ τετρασύνθετοι πάλιν
τετρασκελεῖς τε τετραπλοῖ τῇ συνθέσει
ἄνωθεν ὥσπερ ἐκ κενώματος ξένου
καθιδρυθέντες τοῖς κάτω τεταγμένοις
τὰς ἀψίδας αἴρουσι τὰς ὑπερτάτους,
610   αἵπερ δέχονται σφαιροσύνθετον στέγην,
κἄπειτ᾽ ἀνατρέχουσιν ὡς πρὸς ἑσπέραν
αὐτὴν ὁδὸν τρέχοντες, ἥνπερ οἱ κάτω·
εἶτα πρὸς ἄρκτον ἔμπαλιν βεβηκότες
ἔστησαν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἀσφαλεστάτην,
615   ὥσπερ στρατηγοὶ καὶ στρατάρχαι ταγμάτων
σταυροῦ δίκην φάλαγγας ἐκτετακότες·
εἶθ᾽, ὡς γίγαντες ὕψος ἐκβεβηκότες
καὶ χεῖρας ἐκτείνοντες εἰς τὸν ἀέρα
620   αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς δεξιὰς πρὸς τὸν πέλας
619   καὶ δακτύλοις πλέξαντες ἄλλους δακτύλους,
621   δίκην κυλίνδρων εὐγύρων πολυστρόφων
ἀψίδας εἰργάσαντο κυκλοσυνθέτους,
αἷς τέτταρας τείνοντες εὐθέτους κύκλους,
οὓς σφενδόνας καλοῦσιν ἐργοσυνθέται,
625   σφαίρας δέχονται τετραρίθμους ἐξίσης·
πλὴν τὴν μέσην προύχειν τε δεσπόζειν θ᾽ ὅλων
ὁ τεχνίτης ἔταξεν εὐσεβεῖ τρόπῳ
μέλλουσαν εἶναι δεσπότου μέγαν θρόνον
τῆς εἰκόνος τε τῆς ὑπερτίμου σκέπην
630   τῆς ἐγγραφείσης ἐν μέσῳ κλεινοῦ δόμου.
Εἴποις ἂν αὐτὰς οὐρανὸν καταρτίσαι
ἐκ χαλκοτόρνων ἐμπύρων κυλισμάτων

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606 cf. 564. 595

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602 an σχῆμα κυβικὸν m. c. scribendum?   606 τετραπλοὶ A   608 καθιδρυνθέντες A :
m. c. correxi   617 εἶθ᾽ A : corr. Beg   618 an ἐκτείναντες scribendum?   620 versum
ante 619 transp. Hei 623 κύκλους εὐθέτους A : corr. Ma   624 οὓς (sc. κύκλους)
scripsi : ἃς A   ἐργοσυνθέτους A : corr. Leg   625 τετραρίθμους coll. 623 scripsi :
πενταρίθμους A   ἐξ ἴσης A : corr. Leg

thus indeed, in this way, he intended a square shape
should be marked out by a four-sided composition
and should have also foundations equal to its parts.
605   Other piers again, also four square,
four-sided and fourfold in composition,
608   having been placed above those set below,[171]
607   as if atop a marvellous void,
raise up the soaring vaults
610   that bear the dome-constructed roof
and then return towards the west,
following the same path as those below;
then having moved again towards the north,
they stood there in very secure formation,
615   like generals and commanders of tagmata[172]
having drawn up their phalanxes[173] in the form of a cross.
Then, like giants striding out grandly
and stretching their right hands into the sky,
620[174]   one to another to their neighbours,
619   and entwining fingers with fingers,
like much-twisted rolling cylinders,
they formed vaults of circular composition,
from which they extend four well-arranged circles,
which those constructing the work call arches,
625   and which bear the four-numbered[175] equal domes.
627   In addition, the craftsman arranged in a pious way
626   that the central dome should be pre-eminent and be lord of all[176]
since it was destined to be the great throne of the Lord,
a shelter of the exceedingly honoured image
630   painted in the middle of the renowned house.[177]
You might say that heaven furnished them
from burning circles of worked bronze,

κἀκεῖθεν αὐτὰς καππεσούσας ἁρμόσαι
ὤμοις καμαρῶν ὡς κάρας χαλκεμβόλων
635   τῶν πινσοπύργων εὐπρεπῶς τε καὶ ξένως.
    Τοίαις μὲν οὗτος καὶ τόσαις τεχνουργίαις
καὶ σχηματισμοῖς γραμμικῆς θεωρίας
ὅλον διαμπὰξ συγκατήρτισε<ν> δόμον
f. 145ʳ   τὸν ἀστρολαμπῆ τῶν σοφῶν Ἀποστόλων,
640   εἴτ' Ἀνθέμιος, εἴτ' Ἰσίδωρος νέος,
ὕλαις ἀπείροις μαρμάρων πολυχρόων
καὶ λαμπρότησι τῶν μετάλλων τῶν ξένων
ἐπενδύσας τε καὶ καλῶς συναρμόσας,
ὁποῖα νύμφην κροσσωτοῖσι χρυσέοις
645   ἢ παστάδα χρύσαυγον ὡραϊσμένην,
ταῖς ἐκ λίθων τε μαργάρων φρυκτωρίαις
τῶν ἐξ ὅλης σχεδόν γε τῆς οἰκουμένης
καὶ μέχρις Ἰνδῶν Λιβύης τε κ' Εὐρώπης
τῆς Ἀσίας τε πανταχοῦ θρυλλουμένων,
650   ἐκ μὲν Φρυγίας συνάγων μακροὺς στύλους
καὶ Δοκιμ<ε>ίου κίονας ῥοδοχρόους,
ἐκ Καρίας δὲ λευκοπορφύρους πλάκας,
ἐκ δ' αὖ Γαλατῶν κηρομόρφους συνθέτας,
ἐξ Εὐρώπης δὲ χ' Ἑλλάδος πολισμάτων
655   ἅσπερ Κάρυστος Εὐβοΐς τ' ὄχθαις τρέφει
καὶ τῶν Λακώνων ἡ πολύστονος νάπη
πηγανομόρφους φυλλάσιν <τ'> εἰκασμένας
καὶ Θετταλῶν σμάραγδον ἐκμιμουμένας
μακρῶν διαυγῶν κιόνων πρασοχρόων
660   Ἀκυτανῆς τε πλακὸς ἠγλαϊσμένης.

636–674 cf. Paul. Silent. Ecphr. S. Sophiae 617–646 Fobelli   640 = 550   644 cf. Ps. 44,14   659 cf. 121

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638 συγκατήρτισε A : m. c. correxi   639 not. in mg. superiore (manu recentiore) δίκαιον εἶχεν ὁ Βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς νὰ λέγῃ, ὅτι οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς βασιλείας του ἐξέλιπον εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῶν δύο μεγίστων ναῶν, ἁγίας Σοφίας, καὶ θείων ἀποστόλων· ὅρα γὰρ ἀπὸ ποῦ ἔφερε τὴν ὕλην, τὴν ὕλην τὴν ἐξαισίαν καὶ θαυμασίαν 642 μετάλων A : corr. Leg : μεγάλων Beg   648 χ' εὐρώπης A : corr. Leg   649 τῆς scripsi : τῶν A   651 καὶ : an κὰκ scribendum? δοκιμίου A : correxi   657 φυλλάσιν τ' m. gr. scripsi : φύλλοισιν A   εἰκασμένας s.c. πλάκας) scripsi : εἰκασμένους A   658 ἐκμιμουμένους A : correxi   660 πλάκας ἠγλαϊσμένας coni. Leg

and that falling from there they fitted
635   on to the shoulders of the vaults of the towering piers[178]
634   solidly and marvellously, looking like the heads of bronze pegs.[179]
       With so many great works of skill
    and with configurations from geometrical theories
640[180]   he, either Anthemios or the young Isidoros,
638   constructed with utter thoroughness
639   the whole star-shining house of the wise Apostles,
643   cladding and fitting it together beautifully
641   with limitless quantities of many-coloured marbles
642   and the brilliance of marvellous metals,
644   like a bride adorned with golden fringings
645   or a gold-gleaming decorated bridal chamber,[181]
    and with fiery beacons of precious stones and pearls
    from almost the whole of the inhabited world,
    as far as India, Libya, Europe,
    and Asia, talked of everywhere.
650[182]   He brought together tall pillars from Phrygia,[183]
    and rosy-coloured columns from Dokimios,[184]
    white-purple slabs from Karia,[185]
    and from the Galatians wax-formed compounds,[186]
    and from Europe and the cities of Greece
655   [stones] which Euboian Karystos[187] nourishes on its banks
    and from the mournful glen of the Laconians[188]
    rue-patterned stones resembling leaves,
    and, mimicking the emerald,
    tall green-hued translucent Thessalian columns[189]
660   and a gleaming slab from Aquitania.[190]

ἐκ δ᾽ αὖ Λιβύης τερμάτων θηροτρόφων
καὶ Καρχηδόνος τῆς πάλαι θρυλλουμένης
ἡ τῶν ὀφιτῶν ἀγρίων στικτὴ λίθος
δεινῶν δρακόντων φωλίδα<ς> μιμουμένη,
665   κάλλος δὲ πυρσεύουσα πάντῃ που ξένον·
Αἰγύπτιος δὲ πορφύρας ἀλιτρόφου
πλάκας πέπομφε Νεῖλος ἠγλαϊσμένας
καὶ σαρδόνυχας Ἰνδικοὺς πολυχρόους
κἀκ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς ζάμβακας λευκοχρόους·
670   πλάκας δὲ Προικόνησος ἡ γείτων φέρεν,
ἃς εἰς πάτον γ᾽ ἔστρωσαν οἱ λιθοξόοι,
καὶ Κύζικος †βάθυγγος† εὐζώνους πλάκας
ἤνεγκεν ἄλλας ποικίλας πολυχρόους
καὶ τὰς Πάρος παρέσχε χιονοχρόους·
675   ἃς ὡς χιτῶνας ἐνδύσας τοὺς ὀρθίους
τοίχους, διεσφήκωσε πάντα τὸν δόμον
ζώναισι διτταῖς ἰσχυρῶς καὶ κοσμίως
κοσμήτας ἐνθεὶς ἀσφαλῶς ἡδρασμένους
ἐκ τετραγώνων μαρμάρων ἐζευγμένων,
680   δίκην στεφάνης συμπερικλείσας δόμον
δεσμοῖσιν ἀδάμαντος ἰσχυροτέροις,
ὡς ἂν μένοι μάλιστα μακρὸν εἰς χρόνον
καὶ μήτε σεισμοῖς ἐνδιδοῖ σεσαγμένος,
μήτ᾽ αὖ τιναγμοῖς ἐντινάσ<σ>οιτο ξένοις,
685   ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ πάντοτ᾽ ἀτρέμας μένοι.
    Τοὺς κίονας δὲ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τὴν φύσιν
καὶ τὴν χρόαν πέλοντας οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι
πόθεν τε καὶ πῶς κἀκ τίνος πάτρας γένος
φέροντες ἦλθον εἰς Ἀποστόλων δόμον,
690   οὓς ἀλλόφυλος ἀλλοδαπή τις φύσις

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665 cf. 539. 926

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663 τῶν coni. Leg : τῆς A   664 φωλίδα A ut vid. : m. c. correxi   665 πάντῃ Bar :
παντί A   666 ἀλιτρόφος ut vid. A : correxi   668 σαρδώνυχας A : corr. Leg   ἰνδικὰς
A : correxi   669 ζάμβακας : an ζάμβυκας scribendum? (cf. Narr. de S. Sophia p. 95, 5;
105, 20 Preger)   672 βάθυγγος A : βαθύγειος dubitanter prop. Cr, sed metro obstat
679 ἐξεσμένων A : corr. Leg Beg : haud ἐξεσμένων vel ἐζωσμένων scribendum   682
μένη A   684 μήτ᾽ αὖ coll. 392 m. c. scripsi : μήτε A   ἐντινάσοιτο A : corr. Leg Beg

Again from the boundaries of Libya, nurturing wild beasts,
and from Carthage[191] talked of from ancient times
comes stone stippled like wild snakes,
imitating the scales of terrible dragons,
665   and flashing its marvellous beauty in every direction;
the Egyptian Nile sent
glowing slabs of sea-nurtured porphyry,[192]
and many-coloured Indian sardonyx,[193]
and from Erythra, white-coloured zambax;[194]
670   the neighbouring Prokonnesos[195] brought slabs
which the stonemasons spread on the floor,
and deep-delled Kyzikos[196] brought well-dressed
dappled many-coloured slabs,
and Paros[197] supplied slabs of snowy hue.
675   With these, as if with tunics,[198] he dressed the upright
walls, he bound tightly the whole house
with double girdles[199] in strong and seemly fashion,
having put in cornices[200] safely
from four-square well-joined marbles,
680   like a garland enclosing the church
in bonds stronger than adamant,[201]
so that it might indeed stand fast for a long time
and not give way when shaken by tremors,
nor be tossed by mighty earthquakes[202]
685   but indeed stand fast there ever unshaken.
    As for the marvellous columns and their nature
and colour, I do not have words to express
whence and how and sprung from what ancestral land
they came to the house of the Apostles,
690   columns that some alien, outlandish nature

ἤνεγκε πέτρας ἐκφύλου τε καὶ ξένης·
διττούς τε γὰρ πέλοντας ἑκατὸν λίθων
φέρειν χρόας λέγουσι μαρμαρογλύφοι·
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν οἷάπερ λειμὼν ξένος
695   ἀνθῶν προβάλλει μυρίων βλαστῶν φύσιν.
Εἴποις τὸ παμβότανον ἐκ τούτων βρύειν
ἢ πληθὺν ἄστρων συμμιγῆ σελασφόρων
κύκλωθ’ ὁποίαν ἐκτελεῖ γαλαξίας·
ὡς εἰσὶν εὐπρεπεῖς τε καὶ μορφὴν ξένοι
700   στάσιν λαχόντες ἀντολῆς σελασφόρου·

f. 145ᵛ   ὁ μὲν τὸ κλῖτος δεξιόν, ὁ δ’ αὖ πάλιν
ἀριστερᾶς εἴληχε τάξεως θέσιν.
    Στοαῖς δὲ μακραῖς κίοσί<ν> τε παγκλύτοις
ὅλον δι’ ἀμφοῖν τὸν ναὸν συναρμόσας
705   καὶ συμπεράνας, οἷα παστάδα ξένην,
ἀπηκρίβωσεν ἄλλον ἔνδοθεν δόμον
κύκλῳ περιτρέχοντα τὸν νεὼν ὅλον·
τοὺς κίονας δὲ πρὸς κατάστιχον θέσιν
ἔταξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν στοὰν συναρμόσας
710   ἐκ δεξιῶν τε καὶ κλίτους τοῦ δευτέρου
κύκλῳ τε πάντα τὸν νεὼν περιτρέχειν
ὡς ἂν νεωκόρους τε τοῦ θείου δόμου
καὶ μυσταγωγοὺς τῶν Θεοῦ τελεσμάτων.
Εἴποις κατιδὼν ταξιάρχας ταγμάτων
715   εἶναι μεγίστους ἢ τινὰς στρατηγέτας
δορυφόρους τε παντάνακτος δεσπότου.
ὡς εἰσὶ πάντες εὐπρεπῶς τεταγμένοι
καὶ τόν τ’ ἀριθμὸν τῶν σοφῶν Ἀποστόλων
πληροῦντες ὀρθῶς ἐκ μερῶν τῶν τεττάρων,
720   ὡς πάντας εἶναι τοὺς κάτω τεταγμένους
τεσσαράκοντα κίονας πρὸς ὀκτάδι

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707 cf. 711   711 cf. 707

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695 προβάλλει prop. Leg : προβάλλων A   697 σελασφόρον A : corr. Leg   698 κύκλοθ’
A : m. c. correxi   ὁποῖαν A   701 ὁ δ’ Beg : ὅ δ’ A   703 κίοσί A : m. c. correxi   705
versum post 709 repetivit, sed postea del. A   711 πάντα coni. Hei (coll. 707) : παντὶ A
720 not. marg. (manu recentiore) μη´ κίονας

bore from a mysterious and marvellous rock;
for as the columns are double, the marble-sculptors say
they have a hundred colours of precious stones;
each of them, like a marvellous meadow,
695 gives the impression of numberless buds of flowers.[203]
You might say that all the plant life abounds in these
or the mingled multitude of light-bearing stars
which the Milky Way[204] creates all around;
thus they are fair and marvellous in form
700 having been given a position in the light-bearing east;[205]
one on the right side, the other again
having attained a place on the left of the array.
   Having equipped the whole church with both
long colonnades and most glorious columns
705 and finished it, like a marvellous bridal chamber,[206]
he made perfect another house within it
which ran round the whole church in a circuit;[207]
he arranged the columns there in lines,
joining together the colonnade
710 from the right and the second side[208]
in a circuit to run around the whole church,
as if they were attendants[209] of the divine house
and initiators[210] into God's rites.
Seeing them, you might say that they are
715 the very great commanders of tagmata[211] or certain generals,[212]
spear-bearers[213] of the Lord, Master of all.[214]
Thus they all are drawn up in seemly fashion,
719 completing exactly from the four sides
718 the number of the wise Apostles,[215]
720 so that all those columns drawn up below
number forty plus eight

τὴν τῆς στοᾶς φέροντας εὔγυρον στέγην.
κἀν τοῖς ἄνω δὲ ταὐτὸ μέτρον εὐλόγως
εὕροις ἀριθμῶν κίονας ῥοδοχρόους.
725   Λακαρικοῖς τε μαρμάροις διαγλύφοις,
ὁποῖα φυτοῖς βλαστομόρφοις ἀμπέλων
φύλλοις κομώντων βοτρύων πεπλησμένοις,
ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς, ἄνθεσι<ν> μυριπνόοις
ῥόδοις τε καὶ κρίνοισιν ἐξεικασμένοις
730   καρποῖσιν ὡραίοις τε κεὐειδεστάτοις,
μιμουμένων ἄριστα τῶν λιθοξόων,
ὅλους καλύψας κυκλικοὺς τοίχους δόμου
μᾶλλον <γ'> ἐπενδύσας τε χιτώνων δίκην
τῶν ἐκ Σιδῶνος Συρίας τ' ἀφιγμένων
735   οὐρανόμορφον ἄλλον οἶκον ἐν πέδῳ
ἔδειξε τόνδε τὸν περίκλυτον δόμον,
ὡς ἥλιον μὲν Χριστὸν ἐγγεγραμμένον
φέροντα θαῦμα θαύματος λόγου πλέον
μέσον πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπέρτιμον στέγην,
740   ὡς δ' αὖ σελήνην τὴν ἄχραντον παρθένον,
ὡς ἀστέρας δὲ τοὺς σοφοὺς Ἀποστόλους.
Χρυσῷ δὲ μίγδην ὑέλῳ πεφυκότι
ἅπαν κατεχρύσωσε τοὔνδοθεν μέρος,
ὅσον τ' ἐν ὕψει σφαιροσυνθέτου στέγης
745   χ' ὅσον λαγόσιν ἀψίδων ὑπερφέρει,
καὶ μέχρις αὐτῶν μαρμάρων πολυχρόων
καὶ μέχρις αὐτῶν κοσμητῶν τῶν δευτέρων
γράψας ἀέθλους καὶ σεβασμίους τύπους
τοὺς τὴν κένωσιν ἐκδιδάσκοντας Λόγου
750   καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς βροτοὺς παρουσίαν.

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736 cf. 488

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725 λακαρικοῖς coni. Hei (coll. Narr. de S. Sophia p. 93,2 Preger) : λευκαρικοῖς A
μαρμάροις prop. Leg : μαργάροις A   726 ἀμπέλοις A^ac   728 ἄνθεσι A : m. c. correxi
733 γ' coll. 597 m. c. addidi   χιτώνων prop. Leg : χιτῶνος A   734 τ' coni. Beg : δ' A
737 ἐγγεγραμμένον A : corr. Leg Beg   738 φέροντα coni. Hei : φέρων τὸ A   746
μαρμάρων Leg : μαργάρων A   747 versum seclusit Hei

supporting the well-rounded roof of the colonnade.
And in those above, you would find with good reason
rose-coloured columns in the same numerical measure.[216]
725   With panels[217] and carved marbles,[218]
which burgeoned with budding vine shoots
from the leaves of luxuriant grape clusters,
and much else, resembling sweet-smelling flowers,
roses and lilies,
730   and beautiful exceedingly well-shaped fruits,
excellent products of the stone-masons's mimicry,
the architect covered all the encircling walls of the house
or, rather, he clothed, as it were with robes[219]
brought from Sidon and Syria,[220]
736[221]   and he revealed this renowned house as
735   another heaven-formed dwelling on earth
with Christ depicted as the sun,[222]
a wonder of wonders beyond words,
in the middle of the exceedingly-honoured roof itself,[223]
740   and furthermore, the undefiled Virgin like the moon
and, like the stars, the wise Apostles.
With gold mingled with glass[224]
the architect made golden everything in the interior
as far as the height of the dome-constructed roof
745   reaches and as far as the hollows of the vaults,
and down to the many-coloured marble slabs themselves
and down to the second cornices,[225]
depicting contests and images worthy of veneration,
which teach us the abasement[226] of the Word
750   and His presence[227] among us mortals.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν γε θαῦμα παρθένῳ κόρη
τὸν Γαβριὴλ φέροντα σάρκωσιν Λόγου
καὶ χαρμονῆς πληροῦντα ταύτην ἐνθέου,
τὴν παρθένον λαλοῦσαν εὐσταθεῖς λόγους
755   πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν ἄνω στρατευμάτων,
ζητοῦσαν ἑρμήνευμα τοῦ ξένου τόκου,
κἀκεῖνον αὖθις ἐκδιδάσκοντα τρόπον,
τὸν ὅνπερ αὐτὴ συλλαβεῖν σπορᾶς δίχα
μέλλεν τεκεῖν <τ'> ἄνακτα, κόσμου δεσπότην.
760   Τὸ δεύτερον δὲ Βηθλεὲμ καὶ τὸ σπέος,
τὴν παρθένον τίκτουσαν ὠδίνων δίχα

f. 146ʳ   βρέφος τε σπαργάνοισιν ἠμφιεσμένον
φάτνῃ πενιχρᾷ κείμενον ξενοτρόπως,
τοὺς ἀγγέλους μέλποντας ὕμνους ἐνθέους
765   δόξαν τε προσνέμοντας ὑψίστῳ Λόγῳ
ἐν γῇ τε τὴν πάντιμον εἰρήνην πέλειν
εὐδοκίαν τε πρὸς βροτοὺς ἀφιγμένην
ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρὸς θρόνων,
τῶν ποιμένων εὔηχον ἄγραυλον λύραν
770   ᾄδουσαν ᾆσμα τῶν Θεοῦ γενεθλίων.
Τρίτον μάγους σπεύδοντας ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος
εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ παναχράντου Λόγου,
οὓς ἦγεν ἀστὴρ τοῦ φανέντος δεσπότου
ποδηγετῶν τε καὶ διδάσκων τὸν τόπον,
775   εἰς ὃν βασιλεὺς Ἰσραήλ, Θεὸς μέγας,
ἔμελλε τεχθήσεσθαι παρθένου κόρης,
ὥσπερ Βαλαὰμ ἐξεφώνησε<ν> πάλαι
ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων κυριεύειν τοῦ κράτους
καὶ γῆς ἁπάσης προσλαβεῖν τὴν κυρίαν.
780   Τέταρτον αὐτὸν Συμεὼν τὸν πρεσβύτην
φέροντα Χριστὸν ὡς βρέφος ταῖς ἀγκάλαις
καὶ προσλαλοῦντα μητρὶ παρθένῳ τάδε·

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751 cf. Luc. 1,26–38   760 cf. Luc. 2,1–14   769 cf. 288   771 cf. Matth. 2,1–6   777–779
cf. Num. 24,7   780sqq. cf. Luc. 2,25–35
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759 μέλλεν coll. 776. 790. 815 scripsi : μέλλει A   τ' addidi : om. A   763 φάτνης
πενιχρᾶς A : corr. Hei   777 ἐξεφώνησε A : corr. Beg

The first wonder[228] then is Gabriel
bringing the incarnation[229] of the Word to the maiden girl
and filling her with joy inspired by God;[230]
the Virgin speaking unfaltering words
755   to the general of the armies of heaven,[231]
seeking an explanation of the marvellous birth,
and then he thoroughly instructing her in the way
in which she was to conceive without seed
and give birth to the Lord and master of the universe.
760   The second, Bethlehem and the cave,[232]
the Virgin giving birth without travail
and the baby wrapped in swaddling clothes
lying in marvellous fashion in a lowly manger,
the angels singing hymns inspired by God
765   offering glory to the highest Word,
that there was to be most precious peace on earth
and goodwill had come to mortals
from the thrones above of God the Father;
the melodious rustic lyre of the shepherds
770   singing a song about the nativity of God.
      The third, the Magi hastening from Persia
to the adoration of the wholly-undefiled Word,[233]
led by a star of the Lord who had appeared,
guiding their feet and teaching them the place,
775   in which the King of Israel,[234] great God,
was to be born of a virgin maiden,
just as Barlaam[235] had proclaimed long ago
that he would be lord over the kingdom of all peoples
and would take the lordship of all the earth.
780   The fourth, that venerable Symeon,[236]
carrying Christ as an infant in his arms
and addressing these words to the virgin mother:

«οὗτος, πάναγνε, πρὸς κακῶν πτῶσιν πέλει,
ἀνάστασιν δὲ τῶν βιούντων ἐνθέως·
785   ψυχὴν δὲ τὴν σὴν δίστομον λύπης ξίφος
πικρὸν διελθὸν καρδιῶν βροτησίων
βαθεῖς λογισμοὺς ἐκκαλύψει, παρθένε».
καὶ δῆτα καὶ γραῦν τὴν προφῆτιδα ξένην
Ἄνναν προφητεύουσαν ἀμφανδὸν λόγους,
790   ἄθλους ὅσους ἔμελλεν ἐκτελεῖν βρέφος
οἵπερ τέλος τ' εἴληφον εἰς καιρὸν πάθους.
    Βάπτισμα πέμπτον χερσὶ προσδεδεγμένον
ταῖς Ἰωάννου πρὸς ῥοαῖς Ἰορδάνου
πατρός τ' ἄνωθεν μαρτυροῦντος τῷ Λόγῳ
795   καὶ Πνεύματος φοιτῶντος ὀρνέου δίκην
περιστερᾶς εἰς εἶδος ἠγλαϊσμένον,
φωνῆς ἄνωθεν πατρὸς ἐξικνουμένης
καὶ μαρτυρούσης υἱὸν ἠγαπημένον
τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι καὶ Θεοῦ πατρὸς Λόγον,
800   δι' οὗπερ εὐδόκησε τὸ βροτῶν γένος
ἐκ τῆς κρατούσης τοῦ Σατὰν τυραννίδος
ἅπαν ῥύσασθαι καὶ φθορᾶς ἀφαρπάσαι
σῶσαί τε τοὺς σέβοντας αὐτοῦ τὸ κράτος.
    Ἕκτον πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ τρισόλβιον τῷρος
805   Θαβὼρ κατόψει Χριστὸν ἐμβεβηκότα
σὺν τοῖς μαθητῶν προκρίτοις τε καὶ φίλοις,
μορφὴν ἐναλλάξαντα τὴν βροτησίαν
καὶ μαρμαρυγαῖς ἡλίου σελασφόροις
λάμποντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ προσώπου βέλτιον
810   ὡς φῶς τε λευκῆς τῆς στολῆς δεδειγμένης
Μωσῆν τε τὸν μέγιστον Ἠλίαν θ' ἅμα
μετ' εὐλαβοῦς τε καὶ σεβάσματος ξένου
καὶ συμπαρόντας καὶ συνεστῶτας θ' ἅμα
καὶ συλλαλοῦντας τοῦ πάθους τὴν εἰκόνα,

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785 cf. 959   788–791 cf. Luc. 2,36–38   792sqq. cf. Matth. 3,13–17   804sqq. cf. Matth. 17,1–9   807 μορφὴν ... βροτησίαν cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 4; *Orest.* 271   814 cf. 864

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791 εἴληφον A servavi : εἴληφαν Leg : εἰλήφασ' Beg   801 τοῦ Leg Beg : τὸν A   σατᾶν A
803 σῶσαι τὲ A   804 τ' ὄρος A   805 ἀμβεβηκότα coni. Beg (cf. 844)   811 ἠλίαν A

'He, all-holy one, is born for the overthrow of evil-doers[237]
and for raising up those living in a godly way;
785   and a sharp double-edged sword of grief,
having pierced your soul,
will disclose the deep thoughts of human hearts, O Virgin'.
And then indeed an old woman, the marvellous prophetess
Anna, foretelling openly in words,
790   the contests that the baby would complete,
contests that reached their consummation at the time of the Passion.
    The fifth is the baptism received from the hands
of John in the streams of Jordan;[238]
with the Father from above witnessing the Word
795   and the Spirit visiting like a bird
in the gleaming form of a dove,
with the voice of the Father coming from above
and witnessing that His beloved Son
is Christ and the Word of God the Father,
800   through whom he was well pleased to deliver the race of mortals
from the power of Satan's tyranny
and snatch all from death
and save those revering His power.
    The sixth, you will see Christ,
805   having set foot on that thrice-blessed mountain Tabor
with the chosen and beloved of his disciples,[239]
transforming his mortal form,
809   and with his face gleaming more than
808   the sun's light-bearing radiance,
810   and with his white robe shining like light.
You will see the greatest Moses together with Elijah
813   present and standing together with him
812   with reverent and pious awe
and talking together of the image of the Passion,

	815	οὗπερ παθεῖν ἔμελλεν εἰσιὼν πόλιν,
		φωτὸς νεφώδους συγκατεσκιακότος
		αὐτόν τε καὐτούς, οἷς τὸ θαῦμα δεικνύει,
		Θεοῦ τε πατρὸς μαρτυροῦντος ὑψόθεν
		φωνῇ κραταιᾷ καὶ ξένῃ βροτῶν φύσει,
	820	ὡς υἱός ἐστιν ἠγαπημένος λίαν
		αὐτοῦ θεουδής, κἂν βροτῶν φύσιν φέρῃ·
		ἧσπερ μαθηταὶ βροντηδὸν τ’ ἀφιγμένης
		ἀκουτίσαντες κάπ<π>εσον τεθηπότες
f. 146ᵛ		εἰς γῆν προνωπεῖς καὶ κάτω νενευκότες,
	825	οὓς αὐτὸς ἐξήγειρεν ἐκβαλὼν φόβον
		καὶ θάρσος αὐτῶν ἐμβαλὼν τῇ καρδίᾳ
		εἰπὼν τὸ θαῦμα μηδαμῶς τὰ νῦν λέγειν,
		ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξαναστῇ τοῦ τάφου.
		Εἶτα κλινήρη πρὸς ταφὴν ἀφιγμένον
	830	χήρας τὸν υἱὸν εἰσορᾷς †φωηφόρον†
		καὖθις πρὸς οἶκον ἔμπαλιν ἐστραμμένον
	832a	χαίροντα καὶ σκαίροντα καὶ <............>
	832b	<......................καὶ> χαρᾶς πεπλησμένον
		υἱὸν τὸν αὐτῆς ἐκ ταφῆς ζωηφόρον.
		Τὸν Λάζαρον δὲ τετραήμερον πάλιν
	835	τάφῳ κατατεθέντα καὶ σεσηπότα,
		μυδῶντα νεκρὸν πάμπαν ἠλλοιωμένον
		οὐλαῖς τε καὶ σκώληξι συμπεφυρμένον
		ταῖς κειρίαις τε τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰς χέρας
		ἐσφιγμένον τε καὶ κατεσπειρωμένον
	840	Χριστοῦ κελεύσει καὶ λόγῳ ζωηφόρῳ
		ἐκ τοῦ τάφου πηδῶντα δορκάδος δίκην
		καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὧδε τοὔμπαλιν βροτῶν βίον
		παλινδρομοῦντα, τὴν φθορὰν πεφευγότα.

829sqq. cf. Luc. 7,12–17   832b cf. 349   834sqq. cf. Ioann. 11,1–44

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821 θεουδὴς A   823 κἄπεσον A : corr. Leg Beg   824 πρινωπεῖς A : corr. Beg   826 αὐτοῖς sed postea ὧν sscr. A   829 ταφὴν coll. 308 et 833 m. c. scripsi : τάφον A   830 ᵉⁱῆς ὁρᾷς A   φωηφόρον A : ζωηφόρον Beg : φαιηφόρον coni. Hei   832 versum propter homoeoteleuton corruptum esse et in duos versus dividendum censeo; alii alia temptaverunt: πλέον (pro πεπλησμένον) Leg, πλέω coni. Beg; χαρᾶς in v. 833 transponere et υἱὸν secludere prop. Hei

815   which He was to suffer on entering the city,
            while cloudy light casts shadows
            over Him and those to whom he reveals the wonder.
            And you will see God the Father testifying from above
            in a voice that is powerful and strange to mortals,
820   that this is his greatly-beloved Son
            dear to Him, even though He bears the nature of mortal men;
            the disciples having heard this voice,
            which came as thunder, fell down astonished,
            stooping forward to the ground and bowing down;[240]
825   He raised them, casting out fear
            and putting courage into their hearts,
            saying that no-one should speak now of the wonder
            until after He had risen from the tomb.
              Then you behold the widow's son,
830   who had reached the tomb on a bier, brought back to light[241]
            and again returning again back to his house,
832a   rejoicing and dancing and <..........................>
832b   <..................................and> filled with joy,
            her son bringing life from a tomb.
              And again, you will see Lazarus, for four days
835   laid in the tomb and putrefying,[242]
            his purulent corpse altogether changed,
            disfigured by scars and worms,
            hands and feet bound fast together
            and shrouded[243] by grave clothes,
840   at the command and life-giving word of Christ
            leaping from the tomb like a gazelle
            and running back to the life of mortals once more,
            having escaped death.

πώλῳ δ' ἔπειτα Χριστὸν ἐμβεβηκότα
845   καὶ πρὸς πόλιν μολοῦντα τῶν θεοκτόνων
κλάδοις τε δένδρων, βαΐοις τε φοινίκων
ὄχλους ἀνευφημοῦντας οἷα δεσπότην
πύλαις πρὸς αὐταῖς τῆς Σιὼν ἀφιγμένον,
«ὡσαννὰ» κραυγάζοντα νηπίων στόλον
850   υἱόν τε Δαβὶδ προσκαλούντων εὐλόγως
δήμου τε παντὸς ἐκβοῶντος ἐξόχως,
ὥστε κλονεῖσθαι τὴν θεοκτόνων πόλιν
καὶ συστρέφεσθαι ταῖς βοαῖς τῶν νηπίων,
πόλιν τάλαιναν τὴν Σιὼν τὴν ἀθλίαν,
855   ἣν Χριστὸς ἐκλαύσατο δάκρυσι ξένοις,
μὴ γνοῦσαν αὐτῆς εὔθετον σωτηρίαν,
μηδ' ἐντραπεῖσαν τόν <γ’> ἑαυτῆς δεσπότην.
   Πρὸς τοῖσδε πᾶσι θαύμασι ξενοτρόποις
ὄψει, φέριστε, καὶ τόδ' ἔμπαλιν ξένον
860   φρικτὸν θέαμα πάμπαν ἐξηρημένον
γεγραμμένον μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦ ζωγράφου
ὡς ἄλλο μηδέν, ὧνπερ ἔγραψεν δόμῳ,
κινοῦν πρὸς οἶκτον δάκρυόν τε καρδίας
τῶν εἰσορώντων τοῦ πάθους τὴν εἰκόνα·
865   κἂν τῇ γραφῇ γὰρ συμπαθῶς ὁ ζωγράφος
ἔγραψε τοῦτο δρᾶμα κ' ἐσπουδασμένως,
Ἰούδαν αὐτὸν προδιδόντα δεσπότην
διδάσκαλόν τε πρὸς φόνον τὸν παντάλαν.
Ἰούδαν ἄλλον, Ἰσκαριώτην λέγω,
870   οὐ τὸν φέριστον συγγενῆ τοῦ δεσπότου,
ἀλλ' αὐτόν, αὐτὸν τὸν τρισάθλιον κύνα,
τὸν εἰς βίον πεσόντα μοίρᾳ παγκάκῃ,
τὸν εἴθε μήτρας μὴ διελθεῖν τὰς πύλας,
μηδ' ἐκπεσεῖν μάλιστα πρὸς τὸ γῆς πέδον,

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844sqq. cf. Matth. 21,1–9; Luc. 19,28–42   855–856 cf. Luc. 19,41–44   864 cf. 814
867sqq. cf. Matth. 26,47–56; Marc. 14,43–50; Luc. 22,47–53; Ioann. 18,3–11   873sqq.
cf. Matth. 26,24

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844 ἀμβεβηκότα coni. Beg (cf. 805)   849 ὡς ἀννὰ A   856 αὐτῆς coni. Leg Beg   857
μὴ δ' A   γ’ m. c. addidi (coll. 977) : om. A   866 δράμα A   874 μὴ δ' A

Next, Christ, having mounted a foal
845   and approaching the city of the God-killers;[244]
847   the crowds proclaiming Him as Lord
846   with branches of trees and palm-fronds
as He arrived at the very gates of Sion,[245]
an army of children shouting 'Hosanna!'
850   calling Him the Son of David[246] with good reason,
and all of the common people[247] crying out beyond measure,
so that the city of the God-killers was in an uproar
and in turmoil through the cries of the children,
that unhappy suffering city of Sion[248]
855   over which Christ wept with marvellous tears,
not recognizing its own salvation was at hand
nor respecting its Lord.
    In addition to all these marvellous wonders
you will see, O Best of men,[249] this further marvel,
860   a fearful sight, altogether exceptional,
drawn excellently by the artist[250]
like no other of those that he drew in the house,
moving to pity and tears the hearts
of those looking at the image of the Passion;
865   for even in the painting, the artist has sympathetically
and zealously depicted this deed,
Judas himself handing over his Lord
and teacher[251] to a pitiful death,[252]
the other Judas, Iscariot I mean,
870   not the excellent kinsman of the Lord,[253]
but him, him that thrice-cursed dog,
who fell into life by an all-evil fate –
if only he had not passed through his mother's gateway,
and above all had not fallen to the ground,

875   αὐτῇ δὲ μητρὸς κατθανεῖν τῇ κοιλίᾳ,
       λυγρὸν μαθητὴν καὶ κακότροπον λίαν
       δείκτην γεγῶτα δεσπότου διδασκάλου
       κἀπεμπολητὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρὸς Λόγου
       ἕκητι κέρδους λήμματος τοῦ δολίου
880   λαῷ πονηρῷ καὶ κατεστυγημένῳ,
       δήμοις ἀτάκτοις τῶν ἀθέσμων Ἑβραίων,
       σπεῖραν ὅλην λαβόντα τῶν θεοκτόνων,
       νήριθμον ὄχλον ταῖς σπάθαις ὡπλισμένον
       καὶ ταῖς κορύναις ῥοπάλοις τε καὶ ξύλοις,
885   φιλοῦντα δ᾽ ὄψει σὺν δόλῳ τὸν δεσπότην

f. 147ʳ   κἀπεμπολοῦντα τὸν διδάσκαλον φόνῳ,
       τιμὴν λαβόντα λημμάτων ὀλεθρίαν
       τὴν ἀγχόνην τε κέρδος εἰσδεδεγμένον.
         Ἔγραψε δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον ὁ τεχνίτης
890   μορφῆς τε τὴν τύπωσιν ἠγριωμένην,
       πρόσωπον ὠχρόν, τὰς γνάθους συνηγμένας,
       στυγνὸν δὲ τὄμμα καὶ φόνου πεπλησμένον,
       ῥῖνας πνεούσας θυμὸν ὥσπερ ἀσπίδων,
       ὅλην ἀναιδῆ τοῦ προσώπου τὴν θέσιν,
895   φονῶντος ἀνδρὸς βλέμμα συντεταγμένον·
       πόδες τε γὰρ σπεύδουσιν ἐκτεταμένοι
       μακρὰ βιβῶντες εἰς ἀτάσθαλον τρίβον
       καὶ χεῖρες ἄμφω συλλαβεῖν τὸν δεσπότην.
       Εἴποις ἂν ἰδὼν οὐ βροτόν τινα βλέπειν,
900   ἀλλ᾽ αὐτόν, αὐτὸν τὸν πεσόντα πρὸς ζόφον
       ἐκ τῆς θεαυγοῦς ἀγγέλων συνουσίας
       Σατὰν τὸν ἀντάραντα πρὸς Θεὸν χέρα·
       εἰσδὺς γὰρ αὐτὸς πρὸς βάθος τῆς καρδίας

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875 cf. Iob 3,11   878 κἀπεμπολητὴν cf. *Christ. Pat.* 1691 Tuilier   882 cf. Ioann. 18,3
894 cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 33, 8, 2 Moreschini–Gallay   897 μακρὰ βιβῶντες cf. Hom. *Il.* 3,
22; 7, 213; 15, 307 et al.   903sqq. cf. Ioann. 13,2; Luc. 22,3

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878 κἀμπεμπολητὴν A : corr. Leg   882 ὅλην bis praebet A   886 κἀμπεπολοῦντα A :
corr. Leg   894 θέσιν A : θέαν coni. Beg (fort. coll. Georg. Pisid. *Hex.* 179 [PG 92, 1447A])
896 ἐκτεταμμένοι A   899 βροτόν A : βροτῶν Beg (fort. recte)

875   but had died in his mother's very womb,
     a baneful disciple and exceedingly malignant,
     having been born betrayer of his Master and teacher,
     and peddler of the Word of God the Father
     for the sake of the profit from his treacherous transaction[254]
880   with a worthless and abhorred people,[255]
     the disorderly people[256] of the lawless Hebrews,
     Judas bringing all the cohorts of the God-killers,
     a countless mass armed with swords[257]
     and clubs, staffs and cudgels;
885   you will see him kissing the Lord with deceit,
     selling the teacher to slaughter,
     taking the deadly reward[258] of his gains,
     receiving the noose as profit.[259]
      Yet the artist[260] depicted his character
890   and the savage impression[261] of his form,
     pale face, clenched jaws,
     eyes hateful and filled with murder,
     his nostrils breathing rage like that of asps,[262]
     the whole shameless set of his face,
895   making up the look of a murderous man;[263]
     for his feet, stepping out, hasten
     with long strides on a reckless path
     and both hands hasten to seize the Lord.
     Seeing him, you would say that you did not see a mortal man,
900   but him, him who fell into the nether darkness
     from the divinely-illuminated assembly of angels,
     Satan,[264] who raised his hand against God;
     for it was he who entered into the depths of the heart

Ἰούδα τοῦ τάλανος ἀθλιωτάτου
905   ὅλην ἀπεπλήρωσε τῆς πονηρίας,
ὅλην κατεσκεύασε δαιμόνων βάσιν,
φιλαργυρίας ἐμβαλὼν κακὴν νόσον
τῶν χρημάτων τε λύτταν ἠγριωμένην·
τοιοῦτος ἐστὶ πᾶς φιλάργυρος φύσιν
910   γνώμην θ' ὁμοίαν Ἰσκαριώτῃ φέρει
καὶ προδίδωσι πάντα κέρδεος χάριν.
Ἀλλ', ὁ προδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὕπερ,
σβέσον νοός μου τὴν φιλάργυρον νόσον
καὶ Λάζαρον πτωχόν με δεῖξον ἐν βίῳ
915   τοῦ πλουσίου με τῆς πυρᾶς ἀφαρπάσας.
    Τὸ δ' ἕβδομον θέαμα πάντων θαυμάτων
τὸ πανσέβαστον καὶ πανύμνητον πάθος
Χριστοῦ κατίδοις συμπαθῶς γεγραμμένον,
δι' οὗ βροτῶν κάκιστον ἤμβλυνε<ν> μόρον
920   καὶ πᾶν καθεῖλε τοῦ Σατὰν μέγα κράτος
θάμβους ἅπαντας ἐκπληρῶν δεδορκότας.
Τίς οὖν λιθώδη καρδίαν κεκτημένος,
ὅταν προσίδοι τοῦ πάθους τὴν εἰκόνα
καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ὕβριν εἰς τὸν δεσπότην,
925   μὴ θάμβος εὐθὺς ἔνδον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
σχοίη βλέπων γε πρᾶγμα πάντη που ξένον,
σταυρὸν φέροντα Χριστόν, ἐκτεταμένον
γυμνὸν κακούργων ἐν μέσῳ κατακρίτων,
τὸν ἀμνόν, οἴμοι, καὶ Θεοῦ πατρὸς Λόγον
930   τὸν ἐξάραντα τὴν βροτῶν ἁμαρτίαν
ἥλοις χέρας τε καὶ πόδας πεπαρμένον
λόγχης τε νυγμῇ πλευρὰν ἐξηλλαγμένον
ὄξους χολῆς τε γεῦσιν εἰσδεδεγμένον

914–915 cf. Luc. 16,20sqq.   916sqq. cf. Matth. 27,32–37; Marc. 15,21–26; Luc. 23,26–34; Ioann. 19,17–27   920 cf. 466   922 λιθώδη καρδίαν cf. Georg. Pisid. *Hex.* 1469 (PG 92, 1545A)   925 cf. 324   926 cf. 539. 665   929–930 cf. Ioann. 1,29

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909 τοιοῦτος ἐστὶ m. gr. scripsi : τοιοῦτός ἐστι A   919 ἤμβλυνε A : corr. Beg   927 ἐκτεταμμένον A   929 ἀμνὸν A   932 ἐξηλλαγμένῃ A : corr. Beg

of Judas the miserable, most wretched,
905 and filled it all with wickedness;
he furnished it all with a lodging for demons,
implanting the evil disease of avarice[265]
and the savage rage for money;
such is the nature of every avaricious man
910 and he shows the same mark as Iscariot
and he betrays everything for the sake of profit.
But You who gave Yourself up for mankind,
quench the disease of avarice in my mind
and show me in life as the poor man Lazarus,
915 snatching me away from the pyre of the wealthy man.[266]
    But the seventh wonder among all these wonders,
the all-revered and all-hymned Passion
 of Christ, you may see depicted in a compassionate way,[267]
the Passion through which He blunted the most evil fate of mortals
920 and destroyed all Satan's great power
filling all those who see it with amazement.
Who then, even if he has a heart of stone,
whenever he looks at the image of the Passion
and at so great an outrage to the Lord
925 would not be amazed immediately in his heart
seeing a deed marvellous in every way –
the cross bearing Christ stretched out
naked[268] amid condemned wrongdoers,
the Lamb, alas, and the Word of God the Father
930 who takes away the sin of mortals,
His hands and feet pierced with nails
and His side stabbed by a blow from a lance,
accepting the taste of the vinegar and gall,

κρεμάμενόν τε νεκρὸν ἐν σταυροῦ ξύλῳ,
935   τὸν ἑδράσαντα τήνδε σύμπασαν κτίσιν
καὶ τὰς νόσους λύσαντα τοῦ βροτῶν γένους
λῃστὴν ὁποῖα χ' αἵμασι<ν> πεφυρμένον;
Ἆ δῆμος ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἀθέσμων Ἑβραίων,
ἆ σπέρμ' ἐχίδνης καὶ δρακόντειον γένος,
940   ἆ παμπόνηρον ἔθνος ἔμπλεων φόνου.
Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρώσης μητρὸς ἁγνῆς παρθένου
καὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ συμπαρόντος τῷ πάθει
καὶ συντρίβοντος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καρδίαν,
αὐτῆς δὲ μητρὸς συμπαθῶς μυρομένης
945   δακρυρροούσης καὶ βοώσης ἀσχέτως·
    «οἴμοι τόδ' οἴμοι, τέκνον, οἴμοι σὸν πάθος,
ὅπερ πέπονθας τῶν δίκης ἄνευ νόμων·

f. 147ᵛ   οἴμοι φάος μου, σπλάγχνον ἠγαπημένον,
οἴμοι μόνης μόνον γε τέκνον ἀθλίας·
950   ποῦ Γαβριήλ μοι ῥημάτων ὑποσχέσεις,
ἃς εἶπε πρός με πρὶν γενέσθαι σὸν τόκον;
Ποῦ σκῆπτρα Δαβὶδ καὶ θρόνος τ' ἐπηρμένος
μένων καθώσπερ ἥλιος σελασφόρος
αἰῶνος ἄχρι κατελευτήτων χρόνων;
955   Ἕωλα πάντα καὶ μάτην λελεγμένα.
Ταῦτ' ἄρα τοῦ γέροντος Συμεὼν λόγοι
ἃ νῦν τελοῦνται καὶ βλέπω πεπραγμένα,
ἐκεῖνα δ' αὖραι καὶ χάος λήθης φέρει·
ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἦλθε δίστομον λύπης ξίφος
960   ψυχῆς ἐμῆς οἴκτιστον ἐμποιοῦν μόρον,
ὡς ἦσ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ τρισόλβιος γέρων·
ἄλλων δὲ πάντων ἐρρύησαν οἱ λόγοι.
Τίς γάρ τ' ὄνησις ῥημάτων μακρῶν πέλει

941–943 cf. Ioann. 19,25–26   952–954 Luc. 1,32–33; cf. Ps. 88,37   953 cf. 979   956–961 cf. 783–787   959 cf. 785   960 οἴκτιστον ... μόρον cf. 2 Machab. 9,28

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934 κρεμμάμενόν A   937 αἵμασι A : m. c. correxi   938–940 ἃ ... ἃ ... ἃ A : correxi
944 μυρουμένης A : corr. Leg   947 δίκης Leg Beg : δίχης A   955 αἴωλα A : corr. Leg Beg

a corpse[269] hanging on a wooden cross,
935   who had set in place this whole Creation
and atoned for the ills of the mortal race
drenched with blood like a robber?
Ah, people[270] of the hated lawless Hebrews!
Ah, seed of a viper and race of serpents!
940   Ah, wholly wicked nation, full of murder!
And this while the pure Virgin Mother is watching,
and his disciple is present at the Passion,
rending his heart,[271]
and his mother herself weeps in sympathy,
945   shedding tears and wailing uncontrollably:[272]
     'Alas, alas, child, alas for this your Passion,
which you have suffered from laws without justice!
Alas, my light, the beloved fruit of my womb!
Alas, the only child of a woman alone in her wretchedness!
950   Where are Gabriel's words of promise to me,
which he said to me before Your birth took place?
Where is the sceptre of David and the throne on high,
enduring like the light-bringing sun
as long as eternity and unending time?
955   All are stale and were spoken in vain.
These are indeed the words of old Symeon
which are accomplished and which I see enacted,
but those other words,[273] the breezes and the chaos of forgetfulness carry away.
For see, a double-edged sword of grief has come
960   creating a most pitiful fate for my soul,
as that thrice-blessed old man sang;
yet the words of all others have flowed away.
For what is the profit of long speeches

τῶν εἰς πέρας τε μήποτ᾽ ἐκβεβηκότων;
965   οἴμοι ταλαίνης, τῶν γυναικῶν ἀθλίας,
οἴμοι σπαραγμῶν καρδίας ἀνενδότων,
οἴμοι στεναγμῶν, οἷς στενάζω σὸν πάθος.
Ἐνῆν θανεῖν με μᾶλλον ἢ τάδε βλέπειν,
ἐνῆν γενέσθαι πέτρινον στήλην τάχα
970   ἢ τοῖσδε τοῖς κακοῖς με προσμένειν ὅλως.
Αἴ, αἴ με τὴν δύστηνον, αἴ με τὴν μόνην·
ἀβάλ᾽, ἀβάλε μητρὸς ἀθλιωτάτης.
Ἔδυς, φάος μου, πρὸς τὸν ἑσπέρας δόμον·
πότ᾽ ὄψομαι σῆς ἀντολῆς λαμπηδόνα;
975   Ἀπῆλθες ὡς ἥλιος εἰς δύσιν τάχα·
πότ᾽ ὄρθρον ἴδω πρόδρομον σῶν ἀκτίνων;
Ἢ ποῖος ἀστήρ, τίς δὲ σός γ᾽ ἑωσφόρος
προμηνύων μοι σὴν ἀνάστασιν, Λόγε;
Ἰδοὺ δὲ καὐτὸς ἥλιος σελασφόρος
980   ἔκρυψεν αὐγὰς καὶ σελήνη φωσφόρος,
γῆ δὲ κλονεῖται καὶ σπαράττεται τρόμῳ».

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965 cf. Soph. *Ant.* 82 et al.   979 cf. 953   979–80 cf. Matth. 27,45; Marc. 15,33; Luc. 23,44   981 cf. Matth. 27,51

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964 τε μήποτ᾽ m. c. scripsi (coll. 499) : μὴ δέποτ᾽ A   977 ἢ A : an ᾗ scribendum?

that never come to fulfillment?
965   Alas, for the suffering woman, wretched among women!
Alas for the unceasing rendings of my heart!
Alas for the tears with which I bewail your Passion!
Would that I had died rather than see these things!
Would that I had become a pillar turned to rock forthwith
970   rather than continue in these evils!
Alas, alas, for me the wretch, alas for me bereft!
O woe, O woe, most miserable mother,
you have sunk, my Light, into the abode of evening;
when will I see the brilliance of your rising?
975   You departed swiftly like the sun to its setting;
when will I see the dawn herald of your rays?
Or what kind of star, and what is your morning star
foretelling to me your resurrection,[274] O Word?
See! Even the light-bearing sun itself
980   has hidden its rays, and the light-bringing moon,
and the earth is thrown into turmoil and riven by quaking.'[275]

Index nominum

Index verborum notabilium

stellula vocabula signata sunt, quibus Constantinus solus vel primus usus est

Chapter 3

Commentary on the Translation

Liz James

For the topography of Constantinople, I have relied on W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977) and also R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964), though this makes relatively little use of Constantine's text. Also helpful is R. Guilland, *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine* (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1969). Théodore Reinach's 'Commentaire archéologique' to Legrand's edition in *Revue des études grecques* 9 (1896), 66–103, is still useful. A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos, Poikila Byzantina* 8 (Bonn, 1988) discusses many of the monuments of Constantinople in the context of the tenth-century *Patria*.

    1   *Asekretis*: *asekretis* of the court, imperial secretary. The title seems to have appeared in the sixth century and to disappear from the sources after the twelfth century. The actual role of the *asekretis* is unclear. In the ninth-century *Kletorologion*, they formed the upper echelon of imperial secretaries in the chancellery, ranking below the *protoasekretis* (ranked 45th in the great officers of the Court) but above the imperial notaries and the *dekanos*. In the words of Guilland, the position held 'une certain importance'; in Oikonomides's phrase, the asekreti had a 'subaltern' role. See *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, 737, 3 in J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911), 153 a, 97; R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (Berlin, 1967), vol. 2, 159 and nn. 75 and 76; N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines du IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), 283, 310–311; *ODB*, vol. 1, 'Asektretis'.

    2   *Of Rhodes*. For Constantine of Rhodes, see Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian'; Cameron, *Greek Anthology*; M. D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 2003), 116–117; A. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2 (Athens, 2006), 158–161. For Constantine's pride in Rhodes and his description of himself as Rhodian, see N. Koutrakou, 'Universal Spirit and Local Consciousness in the Middle Byzantine Period. The Case of Constantine the Rhodian', in *Rhodes 2,400 Years. The Town of Rhodes from its Foundation to its Turkish Conquest 1523*, vol. 2 (Rhodes, n.d.), 485–492 and Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 394.

    3   Lines 1–18 form an epigram dedicating the work to the emperor Constantine VII. In the Greek, the initial letters of lines 1–18 form an acrostic reading ‘Κωνσταντίνου Ῥοδίου’, ‘Constantine of Rhodes’. Acrostics

were a regular feature in hymns, making up either the author's name or the subject matter, and in gnomologia, collections of pithy maxims, where they often linked chapters and entries, hortatory works and secular encomia, where they often spelt out the name of the recipient, and love songs. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978), vol. 2, 165; Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 162, 178 on the Byzantines' love of wordplay.

4   Line 1. *Most powerful Constantine, scion of the purple*. This is Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, born 905, crowned co-emperor 908, died 959. Son of Leo VI, his birth led to the political and ecclesiastical crisis known as the tetragamy controversy. After three previous marriages, Leo had no male heir. Constantine was born to him and his concubine, Zoe Karbonopsina. Leo wanted to legitimise both his son and his relationship through marriage but was fiercely opposed by the patriarch, Nicholas Mystikos. Though Leo eventually had his way, after his death Constantine was excluded from power for almost four decades, initially as a minor and then by his father-in-law, Romanos I Lekapenos. His independent rule began in 945 after the deposition of Romanos's sons. Constantine was known as 'Porphyrogennetos', meaning 'purple-born', having been born to a ruling emperor in the purple chamber of the imperial palace (G. Dagron, 'Nés dans la pourpre', *Traveaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994), 105–142). Constantine of Rhodes uses phrases such as 'scion of the purple' and 'son of Leo' throughout the poem, underlining Constantine VII's position as true and hereditary emperor.

Constantine VII was renowned for his work in the systematisation of knowledge and the compilation of encyclopaedic works; he is also said to have been the leading spirit in the so-called 'Macedonian Renaissance' and patron of the arts: S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign: A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1929 and repr. 1988); A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (Oxford, 1973); P. Lermerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle* (Paris, 1971), translated as *Byzantine Humanism* (Canberra, 1986); A. Markopoulos (ed.)*, Κωνσταντῖνος Ζ΄ ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος καὶ ἡ ἐποχή του. Β΄ Διεθνὴς Βυζαντινολογικὴ συνάντηση (Δελφοί, 22-26 Ἰουλίου 1987*), (Athens, 1989); I. Ševčenko, 'Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus', in J. Shepard and S. Franklin (eds), *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Aldershot, 1992), 167–198.

5   Line 5. *Swiftest lines of iambs*. On *iambic metres* and their relation to speed and rhythm, commenting on these lines and also on lines 390 and 404–407, see M. Lauxtermann, 'The Velocity of Pure Iambs', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 48 (1998), 9–33, esp. 25. Also Maas,

'Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber', P. Maas, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1962); O. Lampsidis, 'Σχόλια εἰς τὴν ἀκουστικὴν μετρικὴν Βυζαντινῶν στιχουργῶν ἰαμβικοῦ τριμέτρου', *Archeion Pontou* 31 (1971-1972) 234-340, M. West, *An Introduction to Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1987).

6   Line 7. *House*: we have consistently translated both δόμος and οἶκος as 'house', the literal meaning, reserving 'church' for those occasions when Constantine uses ναός.

7   Line 7. For the church of the Holy Apostles see A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche. Zwei Basiliken Konstantins. Untersuchungen zur Kunst und Literatur des ausgehenden Altertums, Zweiter Teil. Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel* (Leipzig, 1908); R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. Part 1: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Vol 3: Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 46–55, though with almost no reference to Constantine's poem; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 405–11.

8   Line 13. *Crown*: the topos of a literary crown or garland is a familiar one, found regularly in epigrams and collections of epigrams, above all, perhaps, book epigrams in Byzantium. See Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 6–7; Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 207. Crowns were also an important part of the imperial insignia, worn in ceremonies and offered to emperors: M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal rulership in Late Antiquity, Byazntium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), 210; *ODB*, vol. 1, 'Crown'.

9   Line 14. *Muses*: there were nine muses in Classical mythology, embodying performed metrical speech in its different forms: by the Hellenic period, they had become fairly standardised as Calliope (epic poetry), Clio (history), Euterpe (lyric poetry), Thalia (comedy and pastoral poetry), Melpomene (tragedy), Terpsichore (dance), Erato (love poetry), Polyhymnia (sacred poetry), Urania (astronomy).

10   *Introduction*: prooimion. The first task of the *prooimion* was to inform the audience of the matter at hand. See M. de Brauw, 'The Parts of the Speech', in I. Worthington (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric* (Oxford, 2010), 187–202. This next part, lines 19–254, form the section of the poem on monuments in Constantinople.

Although Constantine's account is sometimes described as being about 'the seven wonders of Constantinople' (by Reinach, 'Commentaire', 37, for example), this is not a description the poet uses. This header, referring to the statues and columns, is a more accurate account of the contents of this part of the poem. The word 'partial' suggests that it may well be a later addition to or comment on the text. For discussions of the tradition of seven wonders see K. Brodersen, *Reiseführer zu den Sieben Weltwundern. Philo von Byzanz und andere antike Texte* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1992); for city wonders see H. Saradi, 'The *Kallos*

of the Byzantine City: The Development of a Rhetorical *Topos* and Historical Reality', *Gesta* 34 (1995), 37–56.

11   In this translation, we have consistently translated στύλος as 'pillar' and κίων as 'column'. I regret that I became aware of S. Kalopissi Verti and M. Panagiotidi (eds.), *Polyglōsso eikonographēmeno lexiko horōn vyzantinēs architektonikēs kai glyptikēs /Multilingual Illustrated Dictionary of Byzantine Architecture and Sculpture Terminology* (Herakleion, 2010) too late to do anything other than note it here.

12   Line 19. *The city of Constantine* is the city of both Constantine the Great, who dedicated the city as capital of the Roman empire in 330, and of Constantine VII.

13   Line 22. *You yourselves...* This elaborate metaphor compares four rulers to four stars, to four pillars and to four virtues. It is taken as referring to Constantine's joint reign with Romanos Lekapenos and his two sons, Stephen and Constantine. The lines 22–25 are used by Reinach, 'Commentaire', 36 and Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 214 and n. 12, among others, to date the entire poem to 931–944. Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 259–261 and 265, suggests that these lines are a later interpolation, a reading with which Marc Lauxtermann concurs: 'Constantine's City. Constantine the Rhodian and the Beauty of Constantinople', in L. James and A. Eastmond (eds), *Wonderful Things: Byzantium through its Art* (Aldershot, 2012), though see also the comments of Ioannis Vassis in his Introduction to the Greek Edition and of Liz James in Chapter 4.

14   Line 24. The reference here to *four pillars* may also refer to the four columns that Constantine goes on to describe: the column with the statue of Justinian; the porphyry column of Constantine; the column with the cross on it; the column of Theodosios.

15   Line 25. The four cardinal *virtues* were courage, righteousness, prudence in the sense of moderation and prudence in the sense of good sense: *ODB*, vol. 3, 'Virtue'; A. Kazhdan and S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1984), 24–27.

16   Line 28. *My all-glorious emperor* is Leo VI .

17   Line 29. *Marvellous*, ξένος. We have consistently translated ξένος as 'marvellous' rather than 'strange', wishing to emphasise Constantine's focus on wonders.

18   Line 32. *Dome-fashioned*, σφαιροσύνθετος, is a compound seemingly invented by Constantine and repeated at 503 and 610. For σφαῖρα as 'dome' see Downey, 'Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms', 25. We have consistently translated it as 'dome'.

19   Line 32. For *colonnades*, στοά, see G. Downey, 'The Architectural Significance of the use of the Words *Stoa* and *Basilike* in Classical Literature', *American Journal of Archaeology* 41 (1937), 194–211 and Downey, 'Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms', 24–28, making the point that 'stoa' could refer to any colonnaded building.

20   Line 33. Honorific *columns* were erected in Constantinople, especially in the fourth and fifth centuries, for commemorative purposes, in continuation of Roman custom. There seem to have been two basic sorts of honorific column, the monolithic shaft on a base supporting a capital and a statue and those with a shaft composed of drums, plus base, capital and statue. These last frequently had the base and shaft carved in relief and figures on a spiral frieze running up the shaft. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 52–55; G. Becatti, *La colonna coclide Istoriata* (Rome, 1960).

21   Line 34. *The Forum of Taurus*, also known as the Forum of Theodosios, was the first forum to the west of Constantine's Forum, corresponding to modern Beyazit. It was laid out by Theodosios I (emperor 379–395), perhaps, as Mango suggests, in imitation of Trajan's Forum in Rome: Theodosios saw himself as a descendant of Trajan. The forum had a triumphal arch at each end (parts of the west one are preserved and line the street of Ordu Caddesi at Beyazit), a basilica, many statues and, on the axis, a monumental column, where the reception of ambassadors took place. It was inaugurated in 393. The column was that of Theodosios I, described by Constantine at lines 202–240. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 258–265, 273; C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople* (Paris, 1985), 28, 43–45; F. A. Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike* (Mainz, 1996), 187–203; A. Berger, 'Tauros e Sigma: due piazze di Costantinopoli', in M. Bonfioli, R. Favioli Companati and A. Garzya (eds), *Bisanzio e l'Occidente: arte, archeologia, istoria. Studi in onore di Fernanda de'Maffei* (Rome, 1996), 19–24; J. Bardill, *Brickstamps of Constantinople* (Oxford, 2004), vol. 1, 28 and nn. 19 and 130. For discussion of the scale of the forum, see A. Berger, 'Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople', *DOP* 54 (2000), 167–168.

22   Line 34. The *Xerolophos* was both the region of the seventh hill of the city, situated in the west of Constantinople and the name given to the column and statue of Arkadios (son of Theodosios I, emperor 395–408) in the Forum of Arkadios located on the southern branch of the Mese. See also the note under line 241. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 250–253; Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 28, 43, 45; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 356–358; Bauer, *Stadt*, 203–212.

23   Line 35. *The column with the cross*. This was one of the three monumental crosses erected by Constantine the Great in the city, one beneath his triumphal arch, one in the Philadelphion and one in the Artopoleion or Bakers' Quarters:

Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 267 and G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des* 'Patria' (Paris, 1984), 88. Reinach, 'Commentaire', 43, and Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 28–29 and n. 37, believe the column described by Constantine of Rhodes to be the one in the Philadelphion. If Constantine's monuments are described sequentially, however, it is more likely to be either the one in the Forum of Constantine or that in the Artopoleion.

24   Line 37. The column w*orked of bronze* was Justinian's column. It was actually brick, sheathed in marble and bronze: Reinach, 'Commentaire', 52; C. Mango, 'The Columns of Justinian and his Successors', Study X in *Studies in Constantinople*, 4 and Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 53.

25   Line 38. *The Wisdom of God* is the church of Hagia Sophia, Holy Wisdom. The original basilica church was built by Constantius II close to the Great Palace and the Hippodrome. It was rebuilt by Theodosios II and then destroyed in the Nika riots of 532. Isidore of Miletus and Anthemios of Tralles reconstructed it as a domed basilica in the reign of Justinian. Prokopios, *Buildings* I, 1.21–78, text and trans. by H. B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA, 1940), gives an account of the technical difficulties in the building; Paul the Silentiary, ed. P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), partially translated in C. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire. Sources and Documents 330–1453* (Toronto, 1974), 80–96, provides a sixth-century account of the appearance of the church. It was the largest and most important church in the city, the ceremonial and liturgical focus. From a vast literature, see R. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia. Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (London, 1988).

26   Line 43. *Justinian*. The statue of Justinian (emperor between 527 and 565) is also described at lines 364–372. It stood outside Hagia Sophia in the Augustaion, an enclosed open space south of the church which separated the church from the palace, a courtyard of restricted access. It commemorated Justinian's victories over the Persians. Although A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 46–47, suggested that it was the last equestrian statue to be erected in the city, it may also be the case that Justinian reused a statue, perhaps one of Theodosios I or II, perhaps one of Arkadios. See Downey, 'Notes on the Topography of Constantinople', 235; P. W. Lehmann, 'Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider', *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 39–58 and C. Mango's response, 'Justinian's Equestrian Statue: A Letter to the Editor', *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 1–16. Prokopios described the statue in *Buildings* I, 2.11–12 in a similar way to Constantine, though he said that Justinian was 'dressed as Achilles' (G. Downey, 'Justinian as Achilles', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 71 (1940), 68–77). Kedrenos's account, George Kedrenos, *Synopsis Historion*, edited by I. Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus,*

Ioannis Scylitzae Operae (Bonn, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 1838)), vol. 1, 556, also echoes that of Constantine, from whom it may have been derived. The statue itself was removed by Mehmet II; Pierre Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople, based on the Translation by John Ball 1729* (New York, 1988), 96–98, saw and measured bits of it lying in the Seraglio grounds between 1544 and 1550; it was then melted down. The column on which it was mounted was toppled in c.1515. See Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 248–249; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 209, 261 n. 220 and Plate V; A. Cutler, 'The *De Signis* of Nicetas Choniates. A Reappraisal', *American Journal of Archaeology* 72 (1968), 114–115; Bauer, *Stadt*, 154–167; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 238–240; and, above all, C. Mango, 'Columns of Justinian and his Successors', esp. 1–8 and fig. 1.

27   Line 44. *Golden crown and marvellous crest*. A fifteenth-century drawing probably records the statue and the crest in all its glory (it is used as the frontispiece to the Loeb translation of Prokopios's *Buildings*). The drawing appears to have come from the circle of Cyriacus of Ancona (though see Mango, 'Justinian and his Successors', 6–7) and is now in the University Library of Budapest.

28   Line 48. *Wonders*. The use of θαῦμα, 'wonder', in descriptions of cities is a standard literary theme. Constantine's seven are monuments rather than places. See Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 216–217 and n. 27; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 13, 42; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 153–155. Although Constantine does detail seven monuments as wonders, he does not explicitly state that his poem is focused on a theme of seven wonders. Seven was the number of Wisdom with her seven pillars (Proverbs 9, 1) and of the Holy Spirit. As well as its apocalyptic connotations, the number seven, certainly by the thirteenth century, was known as παρθένος because it could only be divided by one: see Downey's comment in Nikolaos Mesarites, *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople.* Edited and translated by G. Downey, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47, 6 (1957), 895, n. 8.

29   Line 51. *The famous pillar* in the Forum is the porphyry column of Constantine.

30   Line 53. *The porphyry column*. This is the oldest of the five columns described by Constantine, the *Chronicon Pascale* giving 328 as its date of erection. It was also known as the Purple Column or the Column of Constantine, and was put up, as Rhodios says, by Constantine the Great in his circular forum, the first forum to the west along the Mese. It was made of seven drums of porphyry, with a pedestal. Reinach, 'Commentaire', 40; C. Mango, 'Constantinopolitana', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 80 (1965), 306–313; Mango, 'Constantine's Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St Constantine', *Deltion*

tes Christianikes Archaeologikes Hetaireias ser. 4, 10 (1981), 103–110; Mango, 'Constantine's Column', Study III in Mango, *Studies on Constantinople* (Ashgate, 1993). The column still survives in its original location in Istanbul, in a mutilated state, with a twelfth-century capital, where it is known as the Burnt Column or Çemberlitaş.

Porphyry was the hardest stone known to antiquity. It was extracted in Upper Egypt from Mons Porphyrites until the mid-fifth century when the quarries were abandoned. It varies in colour from red to purple and was increasingly reserved for imperial use, especially during the tetrarchy and the reign of Constantine the Great. See R. Gnoli, *Marmora romana* (rev. edn Rome, 1988), 122–133; M. J. Klein, *Untersuchungen zu den kaiserlichen Steinbrüchen an Mons Porphyrites und Mons Claudianus in der östlichen Wüste Ägyptens* (Bonn, 1988); D. Peacock and V. Maxfield, *The Roman Imperial Quarries: Excavations – Survey and Excavation at Mons Porphyrites 1994–1998* (London, 2007).

31   Line 61. *Sceptre*. Constantine's reiterated stress on the sceptre as a key part of imperial regalia (see also lines 73, 279 and 379, as well as references to it as part of Christ's regalia in lines 465 and 952) appears unusual. Sceptres are usually said to have played a minor part in Byzantine ceremonial before the eleventh century, though see *Book of Ceremonies*, vol. 1, 1 (A. Vogt, *Le livre des cérémonies* (2 vols, Paris 1935–1940), trans.: 12; and commentary, 49). *ODB*, vol. 3, 'Scepter' suggests that where sceptres feature on coins, it is as symbols of imperial authority rather than actual regalia. Sceptres do not appear on coins from the reigns of either Leo VI or Constantine VII. An ivory fragment now in Berlin was identified as part of a sceptre belonging to Leo VI: K. Corrigan, 'The Ivory Sceptre of Leo VI: A Statement of Post-Iconoclastic Imperial Ideology', *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 407–416; but in M. Vassilaki and R. Cormack (eds), *Byzantium 330–1453* (London, 2009), cat. no. 69, p. 398, Gudrun Bühl suggests that it was a comb.

32   Line 61. *Rome*. Constantine I called his city of Constantinople a 'second Rome' and the designation of the city as new Rome was common from the sixth century on, reflecting the transfer of imperial power.

33   Line 63. *Atlas* was the primordial titan who supported the celestial sphere (see, for example, Hesiod, *Theogony*, 517-519).

34   Line 64. The statue of *Constantine*. The porphyry column bore a statue of Constantine the Great holding a spear and a globe and wearing a radiate crown of seven rays. The statue blew off the column in 1105 and was replaced with a cross. It has been suggested that the statue was originally one of Apollo Helios, reused by Constantine, though Mango, 'Constantine's Column', believes that it was made specifically for the column. See also Reinach, 'Commentaire', 40;

Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 297–298; S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, 2004), 192–204.

35 Line 69. *Gold*. The statue itself was bronze: Mango, 'Constantine's Column': 2; Constantine's description may imply that it was gilded.

36 Lines 71–74. *The inscription on the column*: another version is given by Kedrenos, I, 564. See the discussion of Preger, 'Review' and Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City', on how the differences between the text here and Kedrenos's account indicate an alternative version of Constantine's poem.

37 Line 76. *Twelve baskets*. These are the relics from the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Matthew 14, 13–21; Mark 6, 31–44; Luke 9, 10–17; John 6, 5–15 – the only one of Christ's miracles recorded in all four gospels). Constantine does not mention the other relics, both pagan and Christian, that Constantine the Great was said to have placed beneath his column, including the Palladium of Troy and Noah's axe. Because of the presence of these relics, the column was seen as a sacred defender of the city. See Mango, 'Constantine's Column'; J. Wortley, 'The Legend of Constantine the Relic-Provider', in R. B. Egan and M. A. Joyal (eds), *Daimonopylai. Essays in Classics and the Classical Tradition presented to Edmund G. Berry* (Winnipeg, Manitoba, 2004), 287–496; Bassett, *Urban Image*, 205–206.

38 Line 91. *The Senate*. The name 'Senate' was given to two buildings in Constantinople, construction of which was usually ascribed, as here, to Constantine the Great. There is no evidence that the assembly of Senators used either building. Both were splendid buildings adorned with statues of emperors and mythological figures. One was located to the east of the Augustaion and burned down in 404. It was restored, again destroyed by fire in 532, and rebuilt by Justinian. The one described here by Constantine was a domed structure in the north part of the Forum of Constantine, which was ravaged by fire in the reign of Leo I: Reinach, 'Commentaire', 55–57; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 255–256; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 300; L. Rydén, 'The Date of the Life of Andreas Salos', *DOP* 32 (1978), 137–138; Bassett, *Urban Image*, 30–31; A. Berger, 'Die Senate von Konstantinopel', *Boreas* 18 (1995), 131–142.

39 Line 94. *Vault*, ἀψίς. According to Downey, 'Architectural Terms', 28–29, ἀψὶς can mean either 'vault' or 'arch', emphasis lying on the curving nature of the structure. We have used 'vault' throughout in our translation.

40 Line 98. *Dye of Tyrian shellfish*. Purple in other words, since purple dye was derived from the murex shellfish and was famously made in the cities of Tyre and Sidon. The use of the dye and the manufacture of purple cloth were strictly controlled. M. Reinhold, *The History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Brussels, 1970); G. Steigerwald, 'Die Purpursorten im Preisedikt Diokletians

vom Jahre 301', *ByzF* 15 (1990), 219–276, esp. 229–233 on Tyrian purple. Porphyry columns are thus indicated.

41   Line 101. *The Forum:* that is, the Forum of Constantine.

42   Line 104. *The north ... the south.* Constantine uses Notus and Boreas for the North and South winds. These have a Homeric resonance (for example, *Odyssey* 5, 295) but are used by Aristotle (see *Meteorologica* 2, 6, 363a-365a) and were widely used in Byzantine literature.

43   Line 105. *Envy*, φθόνος, was closely associated with the devil and can be defined as 'sorrow over the well-being of somebody else': M. Hinterberger, 'Emotions in Byzantium', in L. James (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantium* (Oxford, 2010), 123–134, esp. 130–131.

44   Line 106. *Fire* was a recurrent hazard in Constantinople: P. Magdalino, 'Constantinopolitana', in I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (eds), *Aetos: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango Presented to him on April 14, 1998* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998), 227–228. Evagrios in his *Ecclesiastical History* gives a very full account of a great fire in 465, though the *Chronicon Pascale* records two fires, one in 464 and another in 469. For discussion of these dates, see Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. M. Whitby (Liverpool, 2000), 96 and n. 139; and *Chronicon Pascale*, trans. M. Whitby and M. Whitby (Liverpool, 1989), 87 and n. 285, and 91 and n. 296.

45   Lines 105–110. *Leo*, *Verina* and *Basiliskos*. Leo is Leo I, emperor 457–474; Verina, his wife, Aelia Verina, d.484; and Basiliskos her brother, who usurped power between 475 and 476. Orthodox tradition portrayed Leo and Verina as pious and God-fearing and Basiliskos as heretically opposed to the Church Council of Chalcedon. See L. James, *Empresses and Power in Early Byzantium* (London, 2001), 96–97. Paul Stephenson suggests that these lines contain a reference to Psalm 91, (92) 13: http://homepage.mac.com/paulstephenson/trans/ConstantinetheRhodianSenateHouse.html (accessed 26/9/11).

46   Lines 121 and 119. The order of the Greek is syntactically unproblematic, but the lines need to be taken out of sequence to work in English.

47   Line 121–122. *White columns* from *Prokonnesos*, the largest island in the Sea of Marmara, famous for its quarries of blue-tinged marble. Prokonnesian marble was the commonest marble used in Byzantine buildings. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 263–264; ed. G. Borghini, *Marmi antichi* (Rome, 2001), 252; J. Clayton Fant, *Ancient Marble Quarrying and Trade* (Oxford, 1988). These white columns perhaps formed part of Constantine I's original forum as Zosimus, *Historia* 2.30, ed. L. Mendelssohn (Leipzig, 1887), noted that the triumphal arches giving access to these arcades were also of Proconnesian marble: Reinach, 'Commentaire', 58.

48   Line 119. *That porphyry pillar* is Constantine the Great's column again.

49   Line 128. *Artemis of the Ephesians*. Artemis was the daughter of Zeus and Leto and sister of Apollo. At Ephesos, her most famous shrine in Asia Minor, she was venerated as a multi-breasted fertility goddess: A. Bammer, *Das Heiligtum der Artemis von Ephesos* (Graz, 1984). Her worship was attacked by St Paul, *Acts*, 19, 27. Kedrenos I, 565, suggests that the doors were given by Trajan to the temple as a souvenir from his Dacian wars.

50   Line 130. *Sculpted*, πλαστήν, can also, appropriately enough in this context, mean 'counterfeit'.

51   Line 130. *The battle of the Giants*. This passage offers an opportunity for Constantine to display his Classical learning. The Gigantomachy or Battle of the Giants with the gods was a story formulated in archaic epics and elaborated by later writers, notably Apollodorus. To defeat the giants, the gods needed the help of a mortal, Herakles, who killed many giants with his arrows. Zeus employed the thunderbolt, Apollo his bow and Poseidon crushed giants with whole mountains. The battle was a popular scene in Classical art, especially on temple pediments; the gods most commonly shown are Zeus, Poseidon, Herakles and, later, Athena. The giants were first portrayed as warriors or wild men but later as snake-legged monsters, as they are on the Pergamum altar. F. Vian, *La Guerre des géants: le mythe avant l'époque hellénistique* (Paris, 1952); H. Heres, *Der Pergamonaltar* (Mainz, 2004). The tenth-century *Life* of Andrew the Fool, where the sculptures appear as symbols of idolatry, describes the scene in very similar language to that employed by Constantine: Rydén, 'The Date of the Life', 136–141; and L. Rydén (ed. and trans.), *The Life of St Andrew the Fool* (Uppsala, 1995), vol. 2, 140–143, lines 1921–1933. Also see H. Maguire, 'The Profane Aesthetic in Byzantine Art and Literature', *DOP* 53 (1999), 191, making a link between the iconography of the doors and an image of giants in a tenth-century manuscript of Nikander's *Theriaka* (Paris, B.N. gr. 247, fol. 47r); P. Stephenson, 'Staring at Serpents in Tenth-Century Constantinople, or, Some Comments on Judgement in the *Life of St Andrew the Fool*', *Bysantinska Sälskapet Bulletin* 28 (2010), 59–81. My thanks to Paul Stephenson for this reference. K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951), 83, suggests that most Byzantines were familiar with Apollodoros.

52   Line 131. *Hellenes* ('Greeks') is used by Constantine to indicate pagans. The Byzantines called themselves Romans: P. J. Alexander, 'The Strength of Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine Eyes', *Speculum* 37 (1962), 340; A. Garzya, 'Visages de l'hellénisme dans le monde byzantin (IVe – XIIe siècles)', *B* 55 (1985), 463–482; A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2007), 173–187.

53   Line 133. *Zeus*, king of the Greek gods, whose weapon was the thunderbolt.

54   Line 134. *Poseidon*, brother of Zeus and lord of the sea, who carried a trident.

55   Line 135. *Apollo*, son of Zeus, among whose responsibilities were prophecy, music and poetry, and who was also an archer.

56   Lines 136–137. *Herakles*, son of Zeus by the mortal woman Alkmene, recognisable by his lion-skin and club.

57   Line 147. *Race of Hellas*: see above, line 131.

58   Line 150. *Constantine* is Constantine the Great again. For his bringing statues to Constantinople, see Eusebios, *Life of Constantine* III, 54.1–7. On Constantine's removal of statues to Constantinople more generally, C. Mango, 'Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder', *DOP* 17 (1963), 55–75; Bassett, *Urban Image*, ch. 3.

59   Lines 151–152. *A plaything ... and a butt of laughter*. This disclaimer echoes Eusebios, *Life of Constantine* III, 54. 3, which describes the pagan statues brought by Constantine to Constantinople as 'toys for the laughter and amusement of the spectators', a theme he developed elsewhere, including *Ecclesiastical History*, 10.4, 16.

60   Line 155. *Stretching out her hand*: this gesture would later prove the statue's downfall when, in 1203, the Constantinopolitans toppled her, believing she was inviting the armies of the Fourth Crusade into the city: Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. A. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 559–560; Mango, 'Antique Statuary', 58, 62; Cutler, 'The *De Signis*'.

61   Line 156. *An image of Pallas*. Pallas Athena was the daughter of Zeus, patron deity of Athens, and the virgin goddess of war and crafts. Several statues of Athena in Constantinople were identified by different authors as being the Lindian Athena: E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, 'Amasis and Lindos', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 31 (1984), 119–130. One, perhaps of green marble, formed part of the Lausiac Palace collection; another was located in front of the Senate House in the Augusteon; there was also the 30-foot high statue of Athena in the Forum of Constantine described by Niketas Choniates, *De Signis*, 738. However, confusion over which statue of the goddess was in front of which Senate House is apparent in Byzantine sources. Zosimos, *History*, 5.24,7 said that the Lindian Athena was in front of the Senate House in the Augusteaon; Kedrenos 1, 565 (probably taken from Constantine's poem) and Niketas Choniates that it was in front of the Senate in the Forum of Constantine. See Reinach, 'Commentaire', 58–60; Bassett, *Urban Image*, 149 and 188–192; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 129 and nn. 9 and 11; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 300. R. Jenkins, 'The Bronze Athena at Byzantium', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 67 (1947), 31–33 and Plate X and also 'Further Evidence regarding the Bronze Athena at Byzantium', *Annual of the British School at*

Athens 46 (1951), 72–74, attempted to link the statue with Pheidias's statue of Athena Promachos from the Parthenon, rather than with the Lindian Athena.

62   Line 156: *Lindians*. Lindos was the capital city of Rhodes, Constantine's own island. There had been an ancient cult there associated with Athena, known from an inscription from the temple.

63   Lines 159–160. *Helmet*, *Gorgon* and *snakes*. The statue seems to have been of a warlike, helmeted Athena wearing a helmet and her aegis, a goatskin breastplate bearing the Gorgon's head and twisted with snakes.

64   Title of lines 163-177: because of its location at this point in the poem, *the column that bears the cross* was almost certainly not that one located in the Philadelphion (Mango, Le *développement urbain*, 28–30), a lavishly decorated section of the Mese just before it divided into two roads. If the monuments follow each other in a sequential route through Constantinople, it was one of the two other crosses erected by Constantine, one beneath his triumphal arch (*Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 16 and *Patria* 2, 102, p. 205) and one in a courtyard near the Artopoleion or Bakers' Quarters, known as the Staurion (*Parastaseis* 52 and *Patria* 2, 64, p. 185; also Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 63 and 70). Berger has identified this cross on a column with the column of Phokas near the church of the 40 Martyrs. See A. Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 45 (1995), 153; P. Magdalino, 'Aristocratic *oikoi* in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople', in N. Necipoğlu (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* (Leiden, 2001), 65. My thanks to Paul Magdalino for advice about the Staurion.

65   Line 174. *Hades* was the ancient ruler of the underworld, brother of Zeus and Poseidon. In Byzantine literature, Hades symbolised both the underworld as an equivalent to Christian hell and as the place where the dead congregated, and was used as the personification of death as a symbol for the tyranny of human mortality. In representations of the Anastasis (the descent of Christ to hell), the bound figure below Christ's feet represented Hades rather than the Devil. See A. D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis. The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986).

66   Line 181. *The bronze construction*: ὑποστήριγμα is literally 'underprop'. This bronze pyramid seems to be recorded by other sources under the name of the Anemodoulion, a monumental, pyramidal weathervane. It was located between the Artopoleion (Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 315) and the Forum of Taurus. Although Constantine described the figure on top as a monstrous bronze creature, Niketas Choniates, *De Signis* 4, described it as a woman. The Anemodoulion was destroyed in 1204 by the Crusaders. See Reinach, 'Commentaire', 54; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 100, with no reference to

Constantine of Rhodes, but see Downey, 'Topography of Constantinople', 235–236; the remarks in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 44 n. 114; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 131; Rydén, 'The Date of the Life', 139–140, and the relevant text in Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, vol. 2, 140–143, lines 1934–1951. For debate about whether the Anemodoulion was the same monument as the bronze tetrapylon, see Mango, 'Columns of Justinian', 5 and n. 14 and A. Berger, 'Das *Chalkun Tetrapylon* und Parastaseis, Kapitel 57', *BZ* 90 (1997), 7–12. On the Anemodoulion as an eighth-century embellishment of a Late Antique tetrapylon, see B. Anderson, 'Leo III and the Anemodoulion', *BZ* 104 (2011), 41–54.

67   Line 183 *Tiara*, τιάρα, is the word for the specific Persian headdress known as a tiara which took the form of a truncated cone.

68   Line 184. *Great Theodosios* is Theodosios I in this instance and throughout the poem. This attribution is repeated by Kedrenos (1, 565–566), perhaps deriving his account from Constantine's. The *Patria*, 3, 114, however, ascribes the Anemodoulion to Leo III. See Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 322–323.

69   Line 190. *Naked Erotes*. Constantine also uses γυμνὸς at line 928 to describe Christ on the cross. Erotes (sometimes translated as and seen as putti, as we understand that term in its Renaissance context) were small, naked, male figures used in Classical and classicising art.

70   Line 193. *In contrast,* ἔμπαλιν, might also mean 'on the other side'.

71   Lines 200–201. *The winds*. The north, south and east winds are again named as Notus, Boreas, and Euros, as was common practice in Byzantine literature. In Modern Greek, *libas* is used for a very hot southerly wind, most notably a summer wind, but see also Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 2, 6, 363a-365a, where the Lips, λίψ, is a south-westerly autumn wind.

72   Line 202. *The column of Taurus*. This is the marble Theodosian Column, apparently set up by Theodosios I and Arkadios in the Forum Tauri, celebrating Theodosios's victories over the Goths. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 5878, dates this to 386, but Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 43, n. 36 says this date should be treated with caution. See also J. Bardill, 'The Golden Gate in Constantinople: A Triumphal Arch of Theodosios I', *American Journal of Archaeology* 103 (1999), 694–695. The column had a spiral decoration, similar in many ways to Trajan's Column. Several authors including Constantine of Rhodes (line 212) insist that it had an internal staircase, as does Trajan's Column and as did the Column of Arkadios, allowing exit on to the top. The statue on top may have been dislodged in an earthquake of 480 and replaced with a statue of Anastasios, removed in 512 when images of that emperor were destroyed. See Reinach, 'Commentaire', 44–45; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 258–265; Becatti, *La Colonna*, 83–150. Parts of the column now appear to be built into the baths

at Beyazit: S. Sande, 'Some New Fragments from the Column of Theodosius', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 8, 1 (1981), 1–78; Berger, 'Tauros e Sigma'.

73   Line 203. *Arkadios*, the son of Theodosios I, born in 377/378, made Augustus in 383 and succeeded his father as co-emperor with his brother Honorios in 395.

74   Line 205. *Trophies*, that is to say victories, since a trophy was set up by the victor on the battlefield from the armour and standards left behind by the defeated.

75   Line 207. *Well-arranged*, συντεταγμέναι might also imply very tight decoration, as is the case on Trajan's Column. Reinach, 'Commentaire', 44–45, suggested that drawings in the Louvre represent this column but Mango believes this is unlikely.

76   Line 209. *Scythians*: Byzantine writers used the term 'Scythian' to denote all nomadic peoples whom they encountered, from Huns to Avars, Seljuks, Ottomans and Mongols. Also see L. Simeonova, 'Foreigners in tenth-century Byzantium' in D. C. Smythe, (ed.), *Strangers to Themselves: the Byzantine Outsider* (Ashgate, 2000), 229-244.

77   Line 220. *Theodosios* I again. The *Chronicon Pascale*, 565, records the erection of a statue of Theodosios in this forum in 394. Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 43, n. 36, is uncertain whether this is the equestrian statue described here or the one on top of the column. See also Bardill, 'Golden Gate', 694. The Great Chronographer records that the statue of Theodosios on top of the column fell in an earthquake in 478 (see Whitby and Whitby, *Chronicon Pascale*, 55, n. 174, and Appendix 2, 194). Whitby and Whitby appear to believe that the equestrian statue and the statue on top of the column were the same and that this statue was reused in the equestrian statue of Justinian outside Hagia Sophia. Constantine's descriptions of both of these statues appearing to exist simultaneously make this scenario improbable. Constantine's description of the statue here on the street (line 221) pointing to the column (line 239) makes it clear that there was no statue on top of the column in his day. See also Bassett, *Urban Image*, 208–211. An epigram found only in the *Planudean Anthology* (see *AP* 16, 65) may relate to this statue.

78   Line 221. *Step*, ἀκρόβαθμος, may also mean 'plinth'.

79   Line 221. *The great street*: the Mese, or 'Middle Way', the main street of Byzantine Constantinople running from the Milion, the first milestone of the empire, located in the Augusteion, to the city walls, and connecting the major fora of the city: Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 269.

80   Line 225. *Maximos*. Magnus Maximus was commander of troops in Britain under the emperor Gratian, who was proclaimed Augustus by those

troops in 383. Crossing the Channel, he killed Gratian, gained control of Gaul and Spain and was recognised as emperor by Theodosios I. In 387, he invaded Italy, where he was defeated in battle near Aquileia in 388 by Theodosios and executed.

81   Line 226. *The Scythians in Thrace*. The Scythians here are the Goths (P. Heather, 'The Anti-Scythian Tirade of Synesius' *De Regno*', *Phoenix* 42 (1988), 152–172). In 376, the Goths had moved into the Roman Empire; in 378, they defeated and killed the emperor Valens at Adrianople; in 382, a peace treaty was signed between the Goths and Romans, ending the Gothic war. Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 28, following Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 5878, suggests that the column commemorated the victory of Theodosios' general, Promotus, over the Goths in 386 and that this is what the sculptures depicted. The orator Themistius was keen to give all credit for success in the Gothic wars to Theodosios rather than share it with Theodosios' co-emperor Gratian; Constantine's account here suggests that this was the version that survived. See P. Heather, *Goths and Romans 332–489* (Oxford, 1991), chs 4 and 5.

82   Line 227. *The horse*. Bassett, *Urban Image*, 93, suggests that this may have been a reused equestrian statue of Hadrian. It and the statue were bronze.

83   Line 231. *'Thinks'* has been moved up from line 234.

84   Title of lines 241-254. *The Xerolophos*: the Column of Arkadios, erected by Arkadios in the Forum of Arkadios (which was also sometimes known as the Xerolophos) on the seventh hill in the twelfth region of the city. The Forum was established in 402–403 by Arkadios. A statue of Arkadios was placed on top of the column by his son, Theodosios II in 421; this statue fell to the ground during an earthquake in 740. The base was covered with relief sculptures; spiral reliefs coiled up its length. All that remains now is the unadorned base. Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, 4, 7, recorded some of the dimensions of the column; the sculptures are recorded only in the sixteenth-century drawings of Melchior Lorck (Lorichs) and the anonymous sixteenth-century drawings published by E. H. Freshfield, 'Notes on a Vellum Album containing some Original Sketches of Public Buildings and Monuments, Drawn by a German Artist who Visited Constantinople in 1574', *Archaeologia* 72 (1922), 87–104. See Reinach, 'Commentaire', 49; Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 43; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 250–253; Becatti, *La Colonna*, 151–264. For a ninth-century account, see G. Dagron and J. Paramelle, 'Un texte patriographique: "Le recit merveilleux, très beau et profitable sur la colonne du Xerolophos" (Vindob. suppl. Gr. 172, fol. 43ᵛ-63ᵛ)', *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979), 491–523; they date this text to the reign of Leo VI. For a discussion of the imagery of the column, see S. G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981), 56–61; J. H. W. G. Liebschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* (Oxford, 1990),

120–122 and 273–278, suggesting, as Reinach did, that the reliefs depicted the campaign against the rebel Gothic general Gainas in 400.

85   Line 244. *The pillar of Taurus* is the column of Theodosios in the Forum of Theodosios (the Forum of Taurus).

86   Line 250. *The golden gates*: there were two gates in Constantinople known as 'golden'. *Pace* Reinach ('Commentaire', 51), I take it here that Constantine used the plural deliberately, referring to both. The site of the Golden Gate of Constantine the Great, the Gate of Satourninos, on his wall of the city, is marked today by the mosque called İsakapı mescidi. The Golden Gate of Theodosios (usually understood as Theodosios II, but see Bardill, 'Golden Gate', on its transition from arch to gate and the date of this) is at the south end of the Theodosian Land Walls and was used for triumphal entries and other imperial occasions: Müller-Weiner, *Bildlexikon*, 297–300; C. Mango, 'The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate', *DOP* 54 (2000), 175–176 and 181–182.

87   Lines 252–254. The Column of Theodosios is said to be in the centre of the city, guarding that, whilst the Column of Arkadios guards the walls and gates.

88   Line 257. *Remaining statues*. Constantine's comment that statues were 'set up everywhere' ties in with what is known of Constantine the Great's filling of the city with statues. Mango, 'Antique Statuary', 58, has estimated that by the Middle Byzantine period, perhaps over 100 such statues survived in the city. In editing the *Palatine Anthology*, Constantine would also have been aware of poems such as Christodoros's on the statues in the Baths of Zeuxippos (*AP* 2) describing statuary in Constantinople.

89   Line 258. *Theatre*. By the tenth century, *theatron* was sometimes used to denote the Hippodrome; theatres, in the Classical sense, had ceased to exist: R. Webb, *Dancers and Demons. Performance in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 2009). The original theatre of Constantinople may have been located on the Akropolis, near the Temple of Aphrodite and the Kynegion: G. Martigny, 'The Great Theatre, Byzantium', *Antiquity* 12 (1938), 89–93.

90   Line 258. The *Golden Forum* is the Forum of Theodosios.

91   Line 259. The *Strategion* was one of the two great squares of the original Greco-Roman city, incorporated by Constantine the Great into his plan for Constantinople. It was located in the fifth region of the city in the area of Sirkeci station, perhaps close to the sea: Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 19–20; 'The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre', *17th International Byzantine Congress. Main Papers* (Washington, DC, 1986), 123; 'Triumphal Way', 177–178 and the appendix to this paper, 'On the Situation of the Strategion', 187–188; also Berger, 'Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople',

165. It seems to have been the area where generals received military honours or where forces were exercised. The *Patria* (II, 61 and III, 24) notes statues in the Strategion: Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 406–408, 411 and P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996), 51 and n. 3.

92   Line 287. *Melody*, μέλος, refers specifically to the song of the nightingale, the songbird above all others.

93   Line 288. *Orpheus* was the great musician of Classical mythology, son of Apollo and a Muse, whose playing could charm both the living and the dead.

94   Line 289. Iambic *trimeters* have three metres, each of two feet.

95   Line 294. *Zeus* in Classical mythology was renowned for his sexual conquests.

96   Line 295. *The abduction of Demeter's daughter*: the rape of Persephone by Hades.

97   Line 297. *Kybele*, the Anatolian mother-goddess and *Attis* her slain lover. Kybele was a prominent deity in Roman religion, renowned for frenzied religious celebrations supposedly involving ecstatic states and self-castration: M. Beard, 'The Roman and the Foreign: The Cult of the "Great Mother" in Imperial Rome', in N. Thomas and C. Humphrey (eds), *Shamanism, History, and the State* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 164–190.

98   Lines 303 and 304. The *Muses*, Μοῦσαι, were regarded in myth as the deities of all intellectual pursuits, the personification of intellectual and artistic aspirations (see also the note to line 14). Poets would call on the Muses to inspire their work (for example, Homer in *Iliad*, 2, 484). The *Graces*, Χάριτες, were seen as the personifications of grace and beauty enhancing daily life and thus accompanying the Muses. Here, Constantine gives these mythological deities a Christian twist by turning them into virtues and the personifications of wisdom, describing them as pure and virginal, fitting with his deliberate employment of Classical imagery for his own purposes.

99   Line 307. *Arrogant*, θρασύς, can also be translated as 'bold' but it generally carries negative connotations.

100   Line 308. The *Burial of Achilles* is described in *Odyssey* 24, 60–61.

101   Line 310. *Solomon*: in *Proverbs* 1, 9 and 4, 9, Wisdom is the 'Muse' is question. David and Solomon were often used as types for the Macedonian emperors, especially Solomon in the context of Leo VI, the Wise: S. F. Tougher, 'The Wisdom of Leo VI', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *New Constantines* (Aldershot, 1994), 171–179.

102   Line 314. *Leader of the Muses*. In Classical mythology, the leader of the Muses was Apollo and this title is specific to Apollo as leader of the Muses. Is this a delicate comparison between the emperor and the god?

103   Line 331. *Traveller*, ἔμπορος, often means 'merchant'. In the context of Constantine's poem and the Byzantines' general disregard for merchants, 'traveller' seemed better.

104   Line 346. *Bending his neck*. The term *proskynesis* refers to the common gesture of supplication or reverence in Byzantine ceremonial. The physical act ranged from full prostration to a genuflection, bow or simple greeting, and concretised the relative positions of performer and beneficiary within the hierarchical order. It could also act as a form of loyalty display, intense prayer or penance or as a gesture for greeting holy men, all connotations suitable for the traveller's approach to Constantinople, the Queen of Cities. See *ODB*, vol. 3, 'Proskynesis'.

105   Line 352. *Eloquent*, εὔλαλος, is another epithet used in the Classical period of Apollo.

106   Line 358. *The great house of God*: Hagia Sophia, the church of Holy Wisdom.

107   Line 364. *The pillar* is Justinian's column next to Hagia Sophia, with the equestrian statue of Justinian, also described above at lines 37–51.

108   Line 369. *Medes and Persians and the race of Hagar*. The Persians and Arabs, who were the children of Hagar (Genesis 16). Even in the tenth century, Justinian was perceived as the emperor who held these eastern forces at bay. Justinian did not actually fight the Arabs; this may be a reflection of Constantine's own time or part of the tradition of employing Classical terminology for non-Classical ideas. Mango, 'Triumphal Way', 181, wonders if pagan kings bringing tribute were actually depicted on the column. If so, Justinian might have been seen as addressing them directly.

109   Lines 375–381. As a result of the parenthesis or interpolation after line 367, the substantive that is picked up in the accusative participle in line 375 could perhaps be the cross, which immediately precedes in lines 372–374, rather than Justinian, who is last referred to in line 368. A eulogy of the cross would make sense in terms of the Christian tone of the poem. I owe this suggestion to Paul Magdalino.

110   Line 397. *Pelops*. In Classical mythology, Pelops was killed and cooked by his father, Tantalus, and offered to the gods to test if they could distinguish between human and animal flesh; only Demeter, distracted by the loss of her daughter Persephone, ate the flesh of one shoulder. It was replaced with one made from ivory, the mark of Pelops and his descendants.

111   Lines 399–402 have been rearranged to make sense in the translation.

112   Line 405. *Assael*. The renowned runner Assael fought on David's side against Abner (II Samuel 2, 18–32).

113   Line 408. *Peter's companion* at the Tomb of Christ was the apostle John (John 20, 4).

114   Line 411. *Double course,* δίαυλος. The double course was a race out and back again.

115   Line 413. *Wise teachers.* Constantine of Rhodes takes a very positive attitude towards teachers. Christ too is referred to as a teacher on several occasions. There seems to have been a strong bond between teachers and pupils and students served as a living advertisement for their masters. It has been estimated that for the tenth century, no more than 200 individuals passed through the higher levels of the educational process and by the tenth century, teaching seems to have been a way of gaining upward social mobility; this may well have been the case for Constantine himself. See A. Markopoulos, 'Education', in E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), 785–795. Writing in the twelfth century, Nikolaos Mesarites (Mesarites, *Description*, chs 7-11) describes a school at the Holy Apostles, though it is not clear when this was established. In the context of Constantine's regular references to teachers, it is worth noting that Leo VI promoted the model of the Christian emperor as teacher originally made by Eusebios: Antonopoulou, *Homilies*, 76. Also see C. Holmes, 'Written Culture in Byzantium and Beyond: Contexts, Contents and Interpretations' in C. Holmes and J. Waring (eds.), *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond* (Leiden, 2002), 1-31; B. Mondrain (ed.), *Lire et écrire à Byzance* (Paris, 2006).

116   Line 428. *His father* was Leo VI.

117   Line 437–438. *A long hill like a neck.* The central hill of Constantinople was known as the Mesolophos, rendered vulgarly as Mesomphalos, 'navel' (*Patria* 3, 219, 9–12), a reference to the *omphalos*, the navel or centre of the world. When Constantine the Great founded the city, however, this hill was not in the middle of the city but close to his city wall. Berger, 'Streets and Public Spaces', 168–170, raises issues about the location of the church of the Holy Apostles.

118   Line 451. The hill *standing fourth*: Constantine suggests that this hill, the fourth, was the centre of the city and the highest. The fifth hill was actually the highest. See Angelidi, "Η περιγραφή', 117–121.

119   Line 459. *Three ... upright ... and two oblique* suggests three domes in a line and two running transverse.

120   Line 462. A clear statement that the church was cross-shaped.

121   Line 466. *Satan*: the devil, in contrast to Hades, and see above, note to line 174 and below, note to line 902.

122   Line 471. *Hades*: see note to line 174.

123   Line 477. *Constantius*. Scholarly debate has raged over who was the original founder of the church of the Holy Apostles, Constantine the Great or his son, Constantius. Both Legrand and Beglery in their editions of Constantine of Rhodes's text read 'Constantine' rather than 'Constantius' at line 477. Downey, 'The Builder of the Original Church', 55 and n. 8, pointed out that this was an emendation of the manuscript on the part of both of these editors, a view with which Ioannis Vassis concurs in this edition. Downey argued that Eusebios's statement that Constantine founded the church should be disregarded in favour of the alternative tradition found in Prokopios, for example, and in Constantine of Rhodes. Richard Krautheimer, 'On Constantine's Church of the Apostles in Constantinople', in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (London and New York, 1969), 27–34, argued in favour of Constantine as the original founder. Cyril Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics', *BZ* 83 (1990), 51–62, proposed that the original church was a circular mausoleum erected by Constantine the Great for his own burial and that next to it, a cruciform basilica was built by Constantius II. For a fuller discussion, see Chapter 4 in this volume.

124   Line 481. The Apostle *Andrew*, the brother of Peter, was reputedly martyred at Patras in the Peloponnese. Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum', 59–60, suggested that the choice for the fourth-century church of relics of apostles of whose tombs next to nothing was known reflected caution and political expediency on the part of those responsible, avoiding the removal, potentially by force, of known relics from known burial sites.

125   Line 483. *Luke* the evangelist, author of one of the four gospels and of *Acts of the Apostles*, who was believed to have died in Boeotia.

126   Line 484. *Timothy*, the companion of Paul and bishop of Ephesos.

The same debate about the founder of the original church of the Apostles has raged over the translation of relics to the building. According to a variety of sources, including Jerome and the *Chronicon Pascale*, years 356 and 357, it was Constantius who was responsible for the translation of the relics of Timothy in 356 and of Andrew and Luke in 357 to the church of the Holy Apostles: Downey, 'The Builder of the Original Church', and Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum', 53–54. However, Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum', 59–60, has pointed out some of the chronological problems raised by this series of events. Three consular lists and several other sources, including Paulinus of Nola, believed the translation of relics to have been the work of Constantine in 336: see Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum: Addendum' as part of Study V in *Studies on Constantinople*, which makes a plausible case for 336. Whitby and Whitby, *Chronicon Pascale*, 33, n. 102, offer reasons to reject the evidence of the consular lists.

127 Line 485–487. *Artemios*. The sense of these three lines is that Constantius employed Artemios to find these relics before he, Artemios, was martyred. See Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum', 53 and n. 12. Artemios, later Duke of Egypt, was executed in c.362 by Julian and became a Christian saint. From the seventh century, the relics of St Artemios were widely believed to be in the church of St John Prodromos in Oxeia (see the introduction to V. S. Crisafulli and J. W. Nesbitt (eds), *The Miracles of St Artemios* (Leiden, 1997), 4–7).

128 Line 489. *Enclosed*: taking κλῆσιν from line 491.

129 Line 499. *Justinian's rebuilding* leading to the dedication of the new church in 550, described by Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.4.9–24. Constantine of Rhodes does not mention the tradition found in the *Patria* (4, 32, p. 286) that Theodora was a prime mover in the building of the church. See Reinach, 'Commentaire', 62; Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, 113 on; Downey, 'Justinian as Builder', *The Art Bulletin* 32, 4 (1950), 262–266, on Justinian's rebuilding.

130 Line 506. *Hellenes*, that is, 'pagans', see note to line 131.

131 Line 511. *The stars*. In this section, lines 506–528, Constantine uses a metaphor of the vault of heaven bearing stars in order to compare the deceitful stories of the Greeks with Christian truths. In the process, he also displays a wide knowledge of Classical mythology. Constantine's catalogue mixes together constellations (8), zodiacal signs (4) and planets (2), displaying a level of familiarity with astronomy, if not necessarily astrology, which was frowned upon by the church. What the significance of his choice of stars was – whether it could be read as a horoscope, for example – is unclear to me. Byzantine astronomy was based largely on Ptolemy and although astronomical studies appear to have paused in the seventh and eighth centuries, the ninth and tenth centuries saw a revival of interest. Arabic texts on astrology and astronomy began to be translated from the eleventh century on. D. Pingree, 'The Horoscope of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus', *DOP* 27 (1973), 217 and 219–231; A. Tihon, 'L'Astronomie byzantin (du Ve au XV siècle)', *B* 51 (1981), 603–624; P. Magdalino, *L'Orthodoxie des astrologues: la science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance, VIIe-XIVe siècle* (Paris, 2006), esp. ch. 3; P. Magdalino, 'Occult Science and Imperial Power in Byzantine History and Historiography, Ninth to Twelfth Centuries', in P. Magdalino and M. Mavroudi (eds), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva, 2006), 119–162.

132 Line 514. *Display* has been moved up from line 515.

133 Line 514. *The savage dog*. The giant hunter Orion's dog was Sirius, the dog star, mentioned by Homer, *Iliad* 22, 29–31, as bringing harm. The choice of Orion, the Plough or Bear and the Pleiades in the next few lines echoes the constellations depicted on the shield of Achilles (*Iliad* 18, 487–489).

134 Line 515. The *Plough*, ἅμαξα. As Homer says (*Iliad* 18, 487), the Plough (or Wain) is the same constellation as the Great Bear.

135 Line 516. *The Great Bear* was the nymph Kallisto, who had a child by Zeus, was turned into a bear by Hera, the wife of Zeus, and put into the heavens by Zeus himself. Why she is here a 'rearer of Zeus' is unclear.

136 Line 517. *The Pleiades* were the seven daughters of Atlas, who were pursued by Orion and turned into stars (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 618-623).

137 Line 518. *The Bull*: Europa was kidnapped by Zeus who took the form of a bull. This is the zodiacal sign of Taurus.

138 Line 519. *The lion*: the Nemean lion, slain by Herakles as his first labour, the zodiacal sign of Leo.

139 Line 520. *The centaur archer*: the zodiacal sign of Sagittarius.

140 Line 521. *Pegasus*, the immortal winged horse, changed into a constellation.

141 Line 522. *The Twin boys*: Zeus seduced Leda in the form of a swan and she had two sets of twins, the boys Polydeukes (who was divine) and Kastor (who was not); and the girls Helen (who was divine and the cause of the Trojan war) and Clytemnestra (who was not). The twins are the zodiacal sign of Gemini.

142 Line 523. *Amalthia*: the nurse of Zeus was either a nymph or a she-goat, depending on which version of the legend one reads. She was transformed into the star Capella, part of the constellation Auriga (the Charioteer).

143 Line 524. *The hull of the Argonauts*: the ship, the Argo, in which the Argonauts sailed in the quest for the golden fleece, was placed in the sky as a constellation. The hull had killed Jason by falling on his head as he slept beneath it.

144 Line 525. *Andromeda and Perseus*. On his return from having killed the gorgon Medusa, Perseus rescued Andromeda from a rock where she had been tied in sacrifice to a sea monster. He then married her. Both Perseus and Andromeda are constellations.

145 Line 526. *Aphrodite's star*: the planet Venus. Venus, or Aphrodite to use her Greek name, as Constantine does, was the goddess of love.

146 Line 526. *Kronos*: the planet Saturn (Kronos in Greek), the father of Zeus.

147 Line 527. *Offspring*, γονή, can also mean 'genitals' or 'parentage', either of which would be as appropriate here.

148 Line 527. *Zeus* was renowned for his sexual assaults on mortals and immortals alike, both male and female, and the considerable numbers of children that these produced. However, there are no stars or constellations named after him, though there is the planet Jupiter.

149 Line 529. *Word*. Constantine calls Christ the Word (*logos*) of God (deriving from John 1,1); he goes on to use *logos* in line 535 and 537 in the

context of his own work, but surely with a conscious wordplay that recurs throughout the poem (see, for example, line 840).

150   Line 541. *Architect*, μηχανουργός. Μηχανικὸς is the more usual term employed for 'architect', used by Prokopios for example, alongside μηχανοποιός, of Anthemios and Isidore. A *mechanikos* was someone versed in the liberal arts and so proficient in both the theories and practices of architecture: G. Downey, 'Byzantine Architects: Their Training and Methods', *B* 18 (1946–1948), 99– 118; N. Schibille, 'The Profession of the Architect in Late Antique Byzantium', *B* 79 (2009), 360–379. Constantine of Rhodes's word, μηχανουργός, may well carry the same implications. However, it can also carry implications of 'working with', suggesting the more hands-on practical side of building and so Rhodios may be using it as deliberately interchangeable with τεχνίτης, 'craftsman', see below, line 557.

151   Lines 541–547. Constantine appears to be saying that, without being an architect himself, inspired by Christ the Word of God, he will nevertheless appropriate the vocabulary of architects in order to describe the church. In this way, he both disclaims responsibility for the misuse of such terms and also distances himself as a literary man from the language of craftsmen.

152   Line 550. *Anthemios or the younger Isidore*. Anthemios was the architect and rebuilder of Hagia Sophia. Isidore the Younger was the nephew of Isidore of Miletos, the original builder of Hagia Sophia. He was responsible for rebuilding the dome after its first collapse in 557.

153   Line 552. *Prose writers of narratives*, such as Prokopios (in *Buildings* 1,24), in contrast to Constantine himself who is writing poetry and at line 412 claims to be the first to describe the church.

154   Line 553. *Cube,* κύβος: also 'square'. The cube or square is of considerable significance in Constantine's account; he constructs the whole church around this shape: Angelidi, "Η περιγραφή', 112–115.

155   Line 554: *Four-sided*, τετρασύνθετος, is another Constantinian compound. Four is the number that recurs most frequently throughout the poem as a key number in the construction of the church in terms of magic numbers. Four encloses the first even number, two; it is square and represents stability and harmony. See Angelidi, "Η περιγραφή', 112–115. Number symbolism and theory played a large part in Neoplatonic philosophy and was further developed by the Byzantines. Particular significance, mystical or magical, was ascribed to various numbers, especially one (one God, one *kosmos*, one emperor), two (natures in Christ), three (Trinity, orders of angels, immersion at baptism for example), four (justice, stability, elements, quarters of the world, cardinal virtues), five (the uniting of the first female and male numbers, two and three and so the universe or the human microcosm), seven (particularly prominent in the

Book of Revelations; also wisdom, the Holy Spirit, perfection), eight (the ideal number as the cube of two). Symbolic interpretation was popular in rhetoric and political propaganda; it was also popular in art and architecture, especially in threes and fours. See F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1925); N. Hiscock, *The Symbol at Your Door. Number and Geometry in Religious Architecture of the Greek and Latin Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2007). E. Reiss, 'Number Symbolism and Medieval Literature', *Medievalia et humanistica* 1 (1970), 161–174, is useful, though almost exclusively Western in its focus.

156   Line 557. *Craftsman*, τεχνίτης, is a more general term and is contrasted with μηχανικὸς by N. Schibille, 'The Profession of the Architect', 360–379.

157   Line 559. *Corners*, γωνία, can mean a 'corner' or an 'angle': Downey, 'Architectural Terms', 29.

158   Line 559. Ἔμβολος is a problematic word. We have translated it here and at 563 as 'porticoes', suggesting that Constantine is describing colonnades running between the corners of the cubes. However, it can also mean 'pegs' and so he may be describing the marking out of the shape of the church on the ground through pegs. Later, at 634, it seems that it can only mean 'peg'.

159   Line 562. *Piers*, πινσός, is the same term as the more usual Classical word πεσσός. Although it can mean 'cubical block of masonry' or 'support for a pillar', here we have taken it to refer to the piers of the building, perhaps in the context of the main masonry piers of the building. This is how the term is translated in the Loeb Prokopios, *Buildings*, 1,1,37, 69 and 71, and by Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 75, 77 and n. 102, though see the note by D. S. Robertson, 'The Completion of the Loeb Procopius', *The Classical Review* 55 (1941), 79–80.

160   Line 562. Equally four in number, like the corners.

161   Line 564. *Four-sided*, τετρασκελής, literally 'four-legged'.

162   Lines 566 and 565 need reversing to make sense in translation.

163   Line 567. *Midpoint*, μεσόμφαλος, as in line 437, with its implicit sense of 'centre of the world'.

164   Lines 573–577 need to have the line order changed to make sense in English.

165   Line 574–575. *As many domes as arches*: five of each therefore. Σφενδόνη literally means 'sling'. We have translated it as 'arch', picking up on the word's emphasis on curves, and reserving 'vault', which might be an alternative, for ἀψίς.

166   Line 578. *Cylinder*, κύλινδρος, underlines the rolling effect of these features. This may perhaps suggest some form of barrel vaulting.

167   Line 580. *Dome cut in two*: for this translation, see Downey, 'Post-Classical Architectural Terms', 25.

168   Line 591. *Foundations*, βάσις, has the geometric sense of 'base'.

169   Line 592. *Towering piers*, πινσοπύργοι is a compound created by Constantine. It may be that these refer specifically to piers larger than the others, perhaps specifically to the four piers supporting the domes around the church. It may be that the term worked as a line-filler. It may also be that Constantine's distinction between πινσοι and πινσόπυργοι was one between 'blocks' and 'piers'.

170   Line 595. *Four-fold*: the key numbers for Constantine in his account of the church are two and multiples of two, especially four, 16 and 48.

171   Line 608. This suggests that there was a gallery in the church.

172   Line 615. *Generals and commanders of tagmata*: these are military terms. Στρατηγὸς is translated here as 'general', its classical meaning. It was, by the eighth century, the term used for the military governor of a theme. Such officials were at the height of their power in the eighth century; gradually their numbers increased, their term of office decreased and their power was restricted. Philotheos lists 26 in his *Kletorologion*. Στρατάρχης, translated here as 'commander', was a term that in the *Kletorologion* and in the *Book of Ceremonies* indicated a special category of high official holding an intermediary position between military dignitary and civil functionary. There is also a later eleventh-century sense of its use simply as 'high-ranking general'. A τάγμα, 'tagma' (plu. tagmata), was originally used to designate a legion. Constantine V (741–775) created a professional army of tagmata under the direct control of the emperor in the eighth century, which was expanded in the ninth, and tended to be based in and around Constantinople. The tagmatic army appears to have declined by the end of the tenth century and the term acquired a more vague meaning of military contingent. H. Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX–XIème siècles', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 84 (1960), 1–111; J. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians. An Administrative, Institutional and Social Survey of the Opsikion and Tagmata, c. 580–900* (Bonn, 1984), 228–337; J. Haldon, C. Mango and G. Dagron (eds), *Strategies of Defence, Problems of Security: The Garrisons of Constantinople in the Middle Byzantine Period* (Aldershot, 1995); W. T. Treadgold, *Byzantium and Its Army, 284–1081* (Stanford, 1995).

173   Line 616. *Phalanxes*: the Classical term referred to a rectangular military formation usually of heavy-armed infantry. It could also be used to describe a massed infantry formation.

174   Lines 620 and 619 need to be reversed in translation.

175   Line 625. *Four-numbered*. Ioannis Vassis emends the manuscript's πενταρίθμους to τετραρίθμους, looking to the 'four circles' of line 623.

However, the church had five domes and line 626 goes on to talk about the fifth dome so a case might be made for leaving the text as it stands.

176   Line 626. The implication of this line is that the central dome was the highest of the five.

177   Line 630. The line suggests that there was an image of Christ in the central dome of the church.

178   Line 635. *Towering piers*, πινσόπυργοι, again, as in line 592.

179   Line 634. Here χαλκέμβολοι appears to mean bronze pegs rather than bronze porticoes.

180   Lines 638–642 need to be moved around to make sense in English.

181   Line 645. The verb used here in line 643, *join*, συναρμόζω, is also used of joining in wedlock, appropriately enough as Constantine goes on to use a metaphor of a bride and a bridal chamber and a bride (one used also at line 705). Such a metaphor is wholly appropriate in describing the church, the Bride of Christ.

182   Lines 650 to 674. This part of the description is where Constantine's knowledge of Paul the Silentiary is most obvious, as it echoes Paul's account of the marbles of Hagia Sophia at lines 617–646: Reinach, 'Commentaire', 64 and Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 48–51. For Paul's marbles, see M. L. Fobelli, *Un tempio per Giustiniano. Santa Sofia di Constantinopoli e le 'Descrizione' di Paolo Silenziario* (Rome, 2005), 151–153. Constantine was familiar with Paul's writing, having copied his work as part of the *Palatine Anthology* (Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 327). As with Paul's description of Justinian's church, Constantine's use of different marbles here conveys a sense of the scope of empire, but one that no longer existed in the tenth century. Africa had been long lost to the Byzantines and Aquitania was far off and remote. Exotic marbles tended not to be quarried in the Middle Ages but were reused from other buildings or monuments and were greatly prized: C. Mango, 'Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople', in C. F. Moss and K. Kiefer (eds), *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1995), 645–658.

183   Line 650. *Phrygia*: the mountainous region of Asia Minor between the Aegean plains and the central plateau, an area of great strategic importance. Phrygian marble is white with red or purplish colouring: Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 169–171; ed. G. Borghini, *Marmi antichi* (Rome, 2001), 264–265.

184   Line 651. *Dokimios*, now İscehisar near Afyon in Turkey. Dokimian marble and marble from Synnada are both also known as Phrygian marble and are white with reddish or purple colouring: Gnoli, *Marmora romana*, 160–171; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 264–365.

185   Line 652. *Karia*: South-west Asia Minor, south of the Meander river. The marble was quarried near Iasos and is dark red with white bands: Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 244–245, ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 207.

186   Line 653. *Galatia* in Cappadocia produced a white, alabaster stone, like ivory in colour: Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 219; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 219.

187   Line 655. The river *Karystos* is on the southern tip of the island of *Euboia* in the Aegean, off the east coast of Greece. The stone is a clear green in different shades: Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 181–183; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 202–203.

188   Line 656. *Laconia* is a part of Sparta in southern Greece. The stone is probably a form of green serpentine or porphyry, though it may be a green brecchia, both Spartan. For serpentine, see *lapis lacedaemonius*: Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 141–144, ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 279–281. For brecchia, *breccia verde di Sparta*: R. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana* (1st edition, Rome, 1971), 96–97; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 196.

189   Line 659. *Green-hued … Thessalian columns*: a green marble was mined at various sites in Thessaly: Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 162–165; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 292–293.

190   Line 660. *Aquitania*:   a marble from France, known also as 'Celtic marble', which was how Paul the Silentiary described it. It is an intense black and white marble, very vivid in appearance: Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 196–198; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 154–156.

191   Lines 661 and 662. *Libya and Carthage*. In the Roman period, Libya signified the North African coastal area and Carthage, on this coast, was the largest city in the western Mediterranean after Rome itself. In the fifth century, North Africa was taken by the Vandals, but reconquered by Justinian in 533; by the late seventh century, North Africa was under Arab rule. The stone is a granite. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 155 and n. 2 suggests that there may be a four-line lacuna here, for reasons that I do not follow. Nothing in the manuscript suggests such a lacuna.

192   Line 667. *Porphyry* see above, note to line 53.

193   Line 668. *Sardonyx* is normally a gemstone. Here, however, it may refer to alabaster, perhaps to Egyptian alabaster, though this is normally white and honey-coloured (Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 215–218; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 140–141); or to alabaster from Gebel Oust in Tunisia, which has a red colour (Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 227; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 146); or even to various types of alabaster from Algeria, coloured in reds and whites (Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 227, 228; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 149, 150). So-called African alabaster is multi-coloured in red and purple shades, though

it was actually mined in Turkey in the Izmir region (Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 174–178; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 133–135).

194   Line 669. *Erythra* can be the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean or the Persian Gulf. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 50 and n. 8, interprets *zambax* as mother of pearl, citing G. R. Cardona, 'Due voce bizantine d'origine Iranica', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 17, 1 (1967), 73–75. I have been unable to obtain a copy of this article.

195   Line 670. *Prokonnesian* marble again. These two lines refer to the floor of the church, otherwise barely mentioned by Constantine.

196   Line 672. *Deep-delled*, βάθυγγος (?): we have actually translated βαθύγειος, as conjectured by Criscuolo, 'Note all'*Ekphrasis* di Costantino Rodio'. See also Ioannis Vassis's note to the edition. *Kyzikos* was an important port city on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara at the head of routes leading in to Asia Minor. It served as an export point for Proconnesian marble: Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 263–264; ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 252.

197   Line 674. *Paros* is an island in the Cyclades famed for its marble. In the third and fourth centuries, inscriptions describe it as a splendid *polis*, but by the early tenth century, the *Life* of Theoktiste of Lesbos (*Acta Sanctorum Novembris* 4 (Brussels, 1925), 224–233) suggests that it was deserted and visited only by hunters. Parian marble is a white, translucent stone. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 261–262, ed. Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 250.

198   Line 675. *Tunics*, χιτών. The chiton or tunic was the basic garment of most Byzantines; it was the term usually used to describe the classical tunic worn by Old Testament figures, Christ and the Apostles. It was also worn by middle-ranking court officials. J. Ball, *Byzantine Dress. Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-Century Painting* (London and New York, 2005), 40.

199   Line 677. *Double girdles* perhaps refers to the string courses. Ζώνη was the standard word for belt or girdle, and belts formed a key part of official insignia: *ODB*, vol. 1, 'Belt'; M. Parani, *Reconstructing the reality of images: Byzantine material culture and religious iconography (11th-15th centuries)* (Leiden, 2003), 65.

200   Line 678. Κοσμήτης, also used in line 747, is translated as *cornice* by Mango in his translation of parts of Constantine's poem, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 200; also see his n. 72 on p. 197. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), suggests 'entablatures'.

201   Line 681. *Adamant*, ἀδαμάντινος, referred to anything made of especially hard materials, whether diamond, gem or metal.

202   Line 684. *Earthquakes*: Constantinople lies in an area of the world prone to earthquakes and quakes in the empire as a whole are recorded for almost every year of Byzantine history. They tended to be interpreted as signs or warnings

of God's anger. V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 476–481 for a list; G. Dagron, 'Quand la terre tremble ...', *Traveaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981), 87–103.

203   Line 695. The simile of stones and marbles compared to meadows and flower buds is not unique to Constantine and is found in the *Palatine Anthology*, for example, at I, 10, 60–61.

204   Line 698. The *Milky Way* was known as such from the Classical period, if not before.

205   Line 700. *The east*. The implication seems to be that these particular columns were used only in the east end of the church.

206   Lines 704 and 705. Παστὰς is translated here as *bridal chamber* to pick up on the double meaning of συναρμόζω, 'fit together', 'join in wedlock', in the preceeding line. It can also mean 'colonnade'. This bridal metaphor echoes that of line 643.

207   Line 707. Prokopios's account in *Buildings* 1, 4, 12, where he describes how the lines of the plan of the church were defined by the walls on the outside and by rows of columns on the inside, makes this passage clearer.

208   Line 710. *Side*, κλίτος, here might possibly mean 'aisle'.

209   Line 712. *Attendant,* νεωκόρος, is defined by Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, as 'temple-keeper' in the sense of a menial official. Constantine's use of the term suggests that it had more importance than that.

210   Line 713. *Initiator*, μυσταγωγός, a *mystagogue* carried out liturgical rites: H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York, 1986), 184–192.

211   Line 715. *Commanders of tagmata,* ταξιάρχης, *taxiarchs*, were high-ranking officers in command of 1,000 man units: Oikonomides, *Listes*, 335. However, in patristic literature, the term was used to characterise God as the creator of order (τάξις), or the archangels, especially Michael, as leaders of the heavenly hosts. For the *tagma*, see the note to line 615.

212   Line 715. *Generals*, στρατηγέτης, see note to line 615.

213   Line 716. *Spear-bearer*, δορυφόρος, can also mean bodyguard.

214   Line 716. *Master of all*, παντάναξ, is a specifically Christian term used of God (cf. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*).

215   Line 718. *The number of the wise Apostles*: 12. Forty-eight, the number of columns, represents four times the number of the Apostles.

216   Line 724. This suggests that there were galleries.

217   Line 725. *Panels*, διάγλυφος: διαγλύφω means to carve out or scoop out; the adjective appears to mean carved or coffered (of ceilings).

218   Line 725. *Carved*, λακαρικός: following Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 98, n. 214, our translation is derived from λαξεύω, 'to hew (in) stone'. Mango suggests that it might be derived from the Latin *laquearia*. A similar

term is used in the *Narratio de S. Sophia*, section 15 (Preger, *Scriptores Originum*, vol. 1, p. 93).

219   Line 733. *Robes*, χιτών, see above line 675.

220   Line 734. *Sidon*. This ancient Phoenician city in Syria was noted from the Roman period for its factories for dyeing cloth purple.

221   Lines 735 and 736 are reversed in the translation.

222   Line 738. For the common metaphor of Christ as the sun see, for example, Revelations 10,1, where he is seen as the sun of Justice.

223   Line 739. The implication is that this image was located in the central dome. Whether Constantine goes on to describe a mosaic depicting Christ, Apostles and Virgin together, possibly an Ascension (as is the case at San Marco), or whether these should be understood as three separate mosaics is unclear.

224   Line 742. *Gold mingled with glass*: gold mosaic.

225   Line 747. *Cornice,* κοσμήτης. See above, line 678. This line implies that the mosaic started where the marbling stopped, as is the case at Hosios Loukas, for example. Despite the reconstructions of scholars such as Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche* 2, 141, at no point is Constantine any more precise about the location of the mosaics in the church than he is here.

226   Line 749. *Abasement*, κένωσις, literally 'emptying', is a theological term, derived from Paul's *Letter to the Philippians*, 1, 7.

227   Line 750. *Presence*, παρουσία, is a theological term, used of the universal presence of the Logos.

228   Line 751. *Wonder*: Constantine describes seven scenes as wonders (the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Coming of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Crucifixion) to match his seven marvels of the first section of the poem, though he actually describes 11 Gospel events (the raising of the Widow's Son, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Betrayal being the other four). The first wonder is the Annunciation on the part of the Archangel Gabriel to Mary, Luke 1, 26–38.

229   Line 752. *Incarnation*, σάρκωσις, literally 'enfleshing', is another theological term, ultimately derived from John 1, 14.

230   Line 753. *Inspired by God*, ἔνθεος, 'divine', can also mean 'full of God'.

231   Line 755. *General of the armies of Heaven* was normally used of the archangel Michael, but is here applied to Gabriel.

232   Line 760. The Nativity, Luke 2, 1–20.

233   Line 772. The coming of the Magi, Matthew 2, 1–12.

234   Line 775. *King of Israel*: Matthew's Gospel uses the phrase 'King of the Jews': the difference may reflect Constantine's anti-Jewish bias.

235   Line 777. *Barlaam*: the prophet Barlaam foretold the coming of the Messiah, *Numbers* 24, 17–19.

236   Line 780. The Presentation in the Temple, Luke 2, 25–38. It is argued that Constantine's description of Symeon carrying the Christ-child dates this specific mosaic to after Iconoclasm: H. Maguire, 'The Iconography of Symeon with the Christ-Child in Byzantine Art', *DOP* 34/35 (1980/1981), 261–269.

237   Line 783. The phrase 'fall of evil' in Greek specifically refers to the Fall of Satan.

238   Line 793. The Baptism of Christ by John the Baptist in the River Jordan, Matthew 3, 13–17; Mark 1, 9–11; Luke 3, 21–22; John 1, 29–34.

239   Line 806. The Transfiguration, Matthew 17, 1–13; Mark 9, 2–13; Luke 9, 28–36. The three apostles who ascended Mount Tabor with Christ were Peter, James and John.

240   Line 824. *Bowed down*, νεύω, has specifically liturgical resonances.

241   Line 830. The Raising of the Widow's Son, Luke 7, 11–17. This is a very unusual scene, not often depicted in surviving Byzantine art: see, for example, a ninth-century manuscript of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Paris, B.N. Gr. 510, fol. 316r) and an eleventh-century gospel book (Paris B.N. Gr. 74, fol. 121r). We have translated φωηφόρον, 'light-bringing' as 'brought back to light'. As Ioannis Vassis notes, the Greek is problematic. Beglery suggested an emendation to ζωηφόρον, 'brought to life' and in the course of producing this translation, Robert Jordan suggests an emendation to φθορηφόρον, 'bringing sorrow', 'carrying death', to balance the ζωηφόρον used in line 833.

242   Line 835. The Raising of Lazarus, John 11, 1–45. Mary and Martha are not mentioned (though this does not prove that they were not depicted). The reference to the putrefying body made the point that Lazarus really was dead, not in a coma.

243   Line 839. *Shrouded*, κατεσπειρωμένον: we have derived this translation from Homer's σπεῖρον, meaning *cloth*, *wrapping* or *shroud* (*Odyssey* 2, 102; 6, 179).

244   Line 845. The Entry into Jerusalem, Matthew 21, 1–11, Mark 11, 1–11, Luke 19, 28–44, John 12, 12–15. *God-killers* denotes the Jews. Attacks on Jews were commonplace in Byzantine writings, particularly religious texts. The Byzantines regarded themselves as having superseded the Jews as God's Chosen People, since the Jews had failed to recognise the Messiah in Christ and had, instead, asked for Barabas when Pilate had offered Jesus for release. A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971); A. Sharf, *Jews and other Minorities in Byzantium* (Jerusalem, 1995); N. de Lange, 'Hebrews, Greeks or Romans? Jewish culture and identity in Byzantium' in Smythe (ed.), *Strangers to Themselves*, 105-118.

245   Line 848. *Sion*: Jerusalem. Sion (or Zion) was first used as a synonym for Jerusalem in II Samuel 5,7. It and the phrase 'Daughter of Sion' were used

similarly in the New Testament (for example, Matthew 21,5, John 12, 15 and Romans 11, 26).

246 Line 850. *Son of David*: the Messiah was the descendant of King David. Christ is identified as the 'Son of David' in Matthew's genealogy of Christ (Matthew 1, 1) and addressed as such in, for example, Luke 18, 38–39 as well as at His Entry into Jerusalem.

247 Line 851. *People*, δῆμος, is perhaps a deliberate choice of word, implying the common herd and, in Byzantium, the circus factions.

248 Line 854. *Sion*: Jerusalem. See note to line 848.

249 Line 859. *Best [of men]*, Φέριστος, is addressed to Constantine VII, though it is an unusual way to address an emperor.

250 Line 861. *The artist*, ζωγράφος, is mentioned for the first time but is not named. This is the standard term for 'artist'.

251 Line 868. *Lord and teacher* is derived perhaps from John 13, 14. Constantine uses this phrase three times of Christ in this section.

252 Line 868. The Betrayal, Matthew 26, 47–56; Mark 14, 43–52; Luke 22, 47–53; John 18, 2–13.

253 Line 870. The *kinsman of the Lord* was Jude.

254 Line 879. *Profit*, λῆμμα: Constantine emphasises the Betrayal of Christ for money. In this attack on Judas, his expertise as a satiric poet and lampoonist is apparent.

255 Line 880. *People*, λαός, are again deliberately 'common folk'.

256 Line 881. *People*, δῆμος again. *Lawless Hebrews*: 'Lawless' is also a barb aimed by Constantine at the Jews, as those believing in the Law of the Old Testament, now superseded by the New Testament. It is used also at line 937.

257 Line 883. *Swords*. A σπάθη is specifically a broad-bladed sword.

258 Line 887. *Reward*, τιμή, is perhaps ironic here as it carries a primary meaning of honour.

259 Line 888. *Noose as profit*: according to Matthew 27, 6, Judas hanged himself in remorse for his actions.

260 Line 889. *Artist,* τεχνίτης, perhaps 'artificer' rather than ζωγράφος, 'artist'.

261 Line 890. *Impression*, τύπωσις, carries a sense of τύπος, 'model' or 'type'.

262 Line 893. *Asps* were commonly used to denote low poisonous creeping beasts. Psalm 91, 13, 'Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk ...' was seen by the Byzantines as a verse foretelling Christ's victory. Comparing a man to an animal was a way of lowering him: G. Dagron, 'Image de bête ou image de Dieu. La physiognomonie animale dans la tradition grecque et ses avatars byzantines', in *Poikilia, Études offertes à J-P. Vernant* (Paris, 1987), 69–80.

263 Line 895. *The look of a murderous man*: the Byzantines believed that physiognomy was a guide to character: J. Elsner, 'Physiognomies and Art' in

S. Swain (ed.), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul. Polemon's Physiognomics from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam* (Oxford, 2007), 203–224.

264   Line 902. *Satan*: rather than the 'prince of darkness', the devil in Byzantium was, in Cyril Mango's phrase, a 'devious "operator"', leading others astray, as indeed he appears here: Mango, 'Diabolus Byzantinus', *DOP* 46 (1992), 215–223.

265   Line 907. *Avarice*: φιλαργυρία, love of money, was one of the eight deadly vices, systematised by Evagrios Pontikos in the fourth century. The vices were sinful desires, part of an habitually evil disposition and leading the individual into sin: I. Hausherr, 'L'origine de la théorie orientale des huit péchés capitaux', *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 30 (1933), 164–175.

266   Lines 914–915. *Lazarus* and the *wealthy man*: the parable of the Rich Man and Lazaros is found at Luke 19, 1–31.

267   Line 918. The Crucifixion, Matthew 27, 33–56; Mark 15, 22–41; Luke 23, 32–49; John 19, 17–27.

268   Line 928. Γυμνός can mean both 'naked' or 'lightly clad'. Downey in Mesarites, *Description*, 874, n. 8 suggests that in this context in Constantine's poem, it should be translated as 'loincloth'.

269   Line 934. *A corpse*. The description of Christ as a corpse and the reference in line 928 to his nakedness are indications of a date for this mosaic after Iconoclasm: J. R. Martin, 'The Dead Christ on the Cross in Byzantine Art', in K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Late Classical and Medieval Studies*, *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 189–196; H. Maguire, 'Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art', *DOP* 28 (1974), 111–140.

270   Line 938. *People*: δῆμος again, and again 'lawless': see note to lines 851 and 881.

271   Line 943. The disciple present at the Crucifixion was John (John 19, 26).

272   Lines 945–981. *The Virgin's lament*. For this as a *threnos*, see M. Alexiou, 'The Lament of the Virgin in Byzantine Literature and Modern Greek Folk-Song', *BMGS* 1 (1975): 111–140; Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1974); Maguire, 'Truth and Convention', 129 and n. 87, which also situates it in the traditions of homiletic literature.

273   Line 958. *Those* refers to the words of Gabriel, contrasted to *these*, the words of Symeon in line 956.

274   Line 978. *Resurrection,* Ἀνάστασις, is the term used of Christ's Resurrection.

275   Line 981. Matthew 28, 51 and 54 recorded earthquakes at the point of Christ's death.

SECTION II
Constantine of Rhodes's Poem and Art History, by Liz James

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Chapter 4

The Poet and the Poem

The Poet

The career of Constantine of Rhodes is reasonably well-documented, for a Byzantine poet. He was born between 870 and 880 at Lindos, on the island of Rhodes, and died at some point after 944.[1] In an epigram in the *Greek Anthology*, he says that his parents were called Ioannis and Eudokia.[2] In the 890s, he seems to have been a scholar of the New Church.[3] A 'Rhodios' appears in written sources in 908 as a secretary (*notarios*) of the eunuch Samonas, one of Emperor Leo VI's favourite ministers, and it is assumed that this is the same man as the Constantine of Rhodes of the poem. This man was employed in a plot against another of Leo's favourites, a further Constantine, writing a scurrilous pamphlet.[4] In 927, Constantine of Rhodes, a *basilikos klerikos*, was one of the ambassadors sent to negotiate peace and a royal marriage with the Bulgarians.[5] Constantine's Rhodian origins were clearly important to him; he described himself as being 'of Rhodes' in the acrostic that opens this poem, as well as emphasising his Lindian origins in the epigram that mentioned his parents.[6] In terms of official positions, as the acrostic reveals, by the time of the poem, he held the position of *asekretis*.[7] Both origins and imperial status were of significance to Constantine in defining his identity to any reader of the poem.

Apart from the poem translated here, several satirical poems survive under Constantine of Rhodes's name, including verses directed against the diplomat Leo Choirosphaktes dated to 907 and a protracted controversy in iambs with

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[1]   Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian'. Also see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 116–117.

[2]   *AP* 15; 15. Discussed by Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 301–302.

[3]   Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 116.

[4]   Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842), 284, line 2. See Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 212 and n. 4 and Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, 158, calling for caution over this identification.

[5]   Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, 316, lines 12–13, identifying the man simply as 'Rhodios'; *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 6, 413, lines 1–3, for the full name and the title.

[6]   Koutrakou, 'Universal Spirit'. Also see Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 303–304 and 306 and Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City', which also makes the case for Constantine's constructing himself as both an insider and an outsider within this poem.

[7]   *Theophanes Continuatus*, 413, 1–3.

the otherwise unknown eunuch, Theodore the Paphlagonian.[8] In addition, Alan Cameron has shown that Constantine was almost certainly Hand J, the redactor of the *Palatine Anthology*, a collection of some 3,700 epigrams, both pagan classical, Late Antique and Christian. Cameron dates this production to some point after 944, when Constantine was perhaps in his late sixties.[9] The *Anthology* also contains several epigrams written by Constantine himself.[10]

Because the dating of Constantine's poem is problematic, it is worth mapping Constantine's career against the reigns of the emperors that he served. If he was born between 870 and 880, then he must have been employed by Samonas whilst he was in his twenties. When Leo VI died in 912, Constantine would have been in his early thirties. Leo was succeeded by his brother Alexander and his son, Constantine VII, known as Porphyrogennetos. Constantine VII became sole emperor in 913, after the death of his uncle, when he was only seven years old. His first regent, the patriarch, Nicholas Mystikos, was soon expelled and replaced by Constantine's mother, Zoe Karbonopsina, but in 920, Romanos Lekapenos overthrew Zoe and had himself crowned as co-emperor with the 15-year-old Constantine VII. By this time, Constantine of Rhodes was in or approaching his forties. When Constantine VII managed to regain sole imperial power in 945, Constantine of Rhodes was in his sixties or older, something that would have placed him in the category defined by the Byzantines as 'old age'.[11]

At what point in his life Constantine wrote the poem translated in this volume, and indeed whether it is one coherent poem, is uncertain. Ioannis Vassis, in his

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8   For the attack on Leo Choirosphaktes, see the texts in P. Matranga, *Anecdota Graeca* (Rome, 1850), vol. 2, 624–625; for Theodore the Paphlagonian see Matranga, *Anecdota*, vol. 2, 625–632. Also Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 301. For Leo himself, see G. Kolias, *Léon Choerosphactès, magistre, proconsul et patrice* (Athens, 1939); P. Magdalino, 'In Search of the Byzantine Courtier: Leo Choirosphaktes and Constantine Manasses', in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC, 1997), 141–166; I. Vassis, *Leon Magistros Choirosphaktes, Chiliostichos Theologia. Editio princeps. Einleitung, kritischer Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Indices* (Berlin-New York, 2002), 1-18.

9   Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 301; Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 116–117.

10   *AP* 15; 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19, whose dates are uncertain. *AP* 15; 15 describes Constantine as 'faithful servant' of Leo, who is associated in his rule with his son Constantine and Leo's own brother, Alexander. It is often assumed to have been written after the death of Leo. Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 301–302, however, makes a convincing case for dating this to 908–912.

11   See A. M. Talbot, 'Old Age in Byzantium', *BZ* 77 (1984), 267–278. The average lifespan of the Macedonian emperors was 59 and of the Komnenians, 61. However A. Kazhdan, 'Two Notes on Byzantine Demography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *ByzF* 8 (1982), 115–122, esp. 116, makes the case that scholars seem to have lived into their sixties and seventies.

Introduction to the edition, has already discussed the issues around both date and composition, but I want to consider them further here. As Vassis pointed out, lines 22–26, which describe a group of unnamed rulers, holding power lawfully like 'four pillars' or like representations of the four virtues, are almost always taken as providing evidence for the date of the whole poem. Four rulers suggest the period of four emperors, which would date the poem to between August 931 (the death of Christopher, son of Romanos Lekapenos) and December 944 (the fall of Romanos Lekapenos), a period marked by the joint reign of Romanos Lekapenos, Constantine Porphyrogennetos and the two sons of Romanos, Stephen and Constantine. The years between 931 and 944 are indeed employed as the conventional dating for the poem.[12] However, some scholars have questioned this. Paul Speck, for one, as Ioannis Vassis has detailed, argued that these lines were an interpolation on the part of an editor engaged in putting together a copy of the works of Constantine of Rhodes.[13] Elsewhere in the poem, on at least five further occasions scattered throughout the remaining lines (lines 27–28 – immediately after the reference to four rulers; 278–279; 393–395; 418–419; 427–428), Constantine extols Constantine VII alone as son and heir of Leo. Speck argued that it was highly unlikely that a court orator would have praised Constantine as the sole heir of Leo in the period of the joint reign.

Marc Lauxtermann, following Speck, also saw lines 22–26 as an interpolation. He pointed out that the syntax of the passage is very awkward.[14] Both Speck and Lauxtermann also suggested that the continued references to Leo throughout the poem implied that Leo was still very much present in people's minds and that this, combined with Constantine's being saluted as sole emperor, actually indicated a date in the early years of Constantine's reign, the time of the regency in fact, 913–919, before the period of power-sharing with Romanos Lekapenos and his sons. If this is so, then it is conceivable that, despite the grammatical issues with the verses, the four lawful rulers mentioned in lines 22–26 might refer to Constantine VII, his mother, Zoe Karbonopsina, and her two key supporters and members of the regency council, Leo Phokas and Constantine the *Parakoimomenos*, placing the poem into the period 914–919. This might also account for the frequent references to Constantine's VII's father, husband

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[12] By, for example, Reinach in his 'Commentaire', 37; Begleri, *Chram*; Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 214; Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 301. Reinach, 'Commentaire' also uses *AP* 15; 15 to suggest that Constantine wrote this poem as an old man, but see Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 301–302.

[13] Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 265.

[14] Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry* and 'Constantine's City'. As Paul Magdalino, (personal communication) also pointed out, lines 22–28 are parenthetical to the main construction of the sentence.

of the regent Zoe. A further appealing possibility is that the allusion to four emperors refers to Constantine VII, his wife Helena, his son and co-emperor, Romanos II and his wife, Bertha-Eudokia, thus allowing the poem in this revised form, with the interpolation, to date to the early years of Constantine VII's sole reign. This would also explain why the reference was made once only and why Constantine then features as the only emperor of significance.[15] Alexander Kazhdan has raised another possibility for dating, suggesting that the mention of the statue of Justinian repelling Medes, Persians, Hagarenes and all barbarian tribes (lines 368–369) was a reference to Romanos Lekapenos making peace with Bulgaria in 927, for Constantine's barbarian threats were all located on the eastern border of the empire.[16] This last seems to me unconvincing; I find the number of references to Constantine as sole emperor suggestive of a period of sole rule, though whether at the start or the end of his reign is another matter.

This is because the issue of date is further complicated by the probability that the poem that survives to us, preserved only in one fifteenth-century manuscript, is, as outlined above by Ioannis Vassis, unlikely to have been written as a single coherent work all at the same time. It is an unfinished or an incomplete text, breaking off abruptly in the course of a lament made by the Virgin at the foot of the cross. It is also contradictory and inconsistent. There are at least two beginnings, in lines 1–18 and 423–436; there is the promise of an account of Hagia Sophia, which is not fulfilled; there is a certain amount of repetition, for example in the account of the statue of Justinian (lines 42–50 and 364–374), and also in words and phrases (such as lines 420 and 431). The manuscript seems to preserve two separate poems, the account of the monuments of the city and the account of the church of the Holy Apostles, and evidence that someone, perhaps Constantine, perhaps a later editor, has attempted to weld them together, topping and tailing them with passages hailing the emperor.[17] The 981 lines can be seen to break down as follows:

> Lines 1–18 consist of a dedication to the emperor, Constantine VII, who had commissioned the work. The initial letter of each line forms an acrostic of the author's name and his title.
> Lines 19–254 form an account of monuments and statues in Constantinople: seven of these monuments are highlighted as 'wonders', though more than seven are described. Speck saw a lacuna here where he

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[15] Paul Magdalino, pers. comm., suggested this last scenario.

[16] Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, 159.

[17] Also see Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City'.

suggested that a passage about statues in Constantinople had dropped out.[18]

Lines 255–284 are a transitional passage, ending the section on monuments and moving into a description of the churches of Hagia Sophia and the Holy Apostles.

Lines 285–320 form another transitional passage addressing Constantine VII. It does not necessarily form an introduction to the account of the churches for, in fact, it refers simply to moving on from the account of the things which the 'gold-gleaming city' bears within itself (lines 318–320).

Lines 321–422 form a third transition (and indeed, line 321 may continue straight on from 320) which represents a proem to the account of the Holy Apostles.

Lines 423–424 consist of a verse title and second epigram, in which the ekphrasis of the church of the Holy Apostles is again dedicated to Constantine Porphyrogennetos.

Lines 425–981 make up the account of the church of the Holy Apostles. Here, Constantine talks about its history, its architecture and its decoration, with a focus on seven wonders, seven scenes from the life of Christ (lines 751–981), though, again, as with the monuments of Constantinople, more than seven scenes are described.

Exactly how these sections relate, and when they were written, is a matter of some debate. Speck suggested that the text in the Athos manuscript represents a posthumous edition of the poem produced on the basis of various poetic fragments written by Constantine and put together by a later editor.[19] Lauxtermann, disliking the idea of a posthumous editor, proposed that the original part of the account of the church of the Holy Apostles, which he dated to the early part of the reign of Constantine VII, consisted of lines 1–18, 285–422, 423–424 and 425–981, and the missing lines after 981.[20] He argued that the original poem on the Holy Apostles had two parts. Lines 425–981 were the written poem itself, with a metrical heading (lines 423–424). Lines 1–18 and 285–422, however, formed an encomiastic speech made by Constantine when he presented the poem to the emperor: 1–18 made up the dedication and 285–422 the encomium.[21] In this reading, the account of the monuments of the city (lines 19–254) is a separate poem, though one also composed before 931. It might also be the case that the header to this section, between lines 18 and 19,

18 Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 256.
19 Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos'.
20 Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City'.
21 Both in Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 40 and Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City'.

is a later addition to the text: the use of the word μερική, 'partial', reads more like an editorial comment. In contrast to Speck's theory of a compilation text, a scribe putting together a dossier from various drafts and trying, unsuccessfully, to make sense of the whole, Lauxtermann suggested that Constantine of Rhodes himself, at some point between 931 and 944, decided to integrate the two accounts into one, putting in the passage referring to Romanos and his sons, and also perhaps adding in a third description, now lost, of Hagia Sophia (hinted at in lines 268–273 and 282–283). This revision was never completed.

In support, Lauxtermann argued that evidence survives showing that Constantine was an occasional reviser of his own texts. He cited a passage in Kedrenos's twelfth-century *History* where the author quotes a patriographic source which had itself derived material from John Lydos, Malchos, assorted unidentified patriographic texts and, crucially, Constantine of Rhodes's account of the monuments of Constantinople.[22] That Kedrenos's passage owed much to Constantine has long been recognised, but Lauxtermann followed Theodore Preger in arguing that what Kedrenos used was a different text of Constantine's on the monuments of the city to that which we have now.[23] Both Preger and Lauxtermann cited the double change of verb in the recording of the epigram supposedly on the statue of Constantine the Great on the Porphyry Column as evidence of Constantine's editorial practice. Indeed, Lauxtermann suggests that there were at least three different copies of Constantine's text on the monuments of the city in existence: the original; the one revised by Constantine; the one in the Athos manuscript. These, in his view, represent the original text composed for the young emperor Constantine VII; the revised version used by the patriographic source which was itself used by Kedrenos; and the updated version of 931–944 which was never officially published.

Lauxtermann's view has considerable merit in explaining the discrepancies between version of the text and in offering plausible contexts for these discrepancies and alterations, as well as for the differences in referring to emperors. The poem as it survives displays elements of coherence. The numbers

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[22]   Kedrenos, *Synopsis Historion*, 1, 563–567; Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City'.

[23]   The patriographers used by Kedrenos varied between summarising Constantine's lines in prose, between offering a mixture of poetry and prose, and between quoting parts of Constantine's actual verse. Preger, who was the first to suggest this model, was also the first to note that the patriographic author had a different version of Constantine's poem to the one we have today. On Kedrenos's use of Constantine, see the discussion in Reinach, 'Commentaire', 42; Preger, 'Review'; Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 218, arguing against Preger; C. Mango, M. Vickers and E. D. Francis, 'The Palace of Lausus at Constantinople and its Collection of Ancient Statues', *Journal of the History of Collections* 4 (1992), 89–98; Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City'.

four and seven are central motifs in both parts; indeed, the passage about the 'four emperors' serves to introduce the significant number four into the city section of the poem. Images are repeated in both sections: columns are described through the image of giants in the context both of the columns of the Senate House (line 113) and of the columns of the Holy Apostles (line 617); Constantine's neologism, σφαιροσύνθετος ('dome-fashioned') is used of the roofed porticoes of the city (line 32) and of the domed roof of the church (lines 503, 610). The poem on the wonders of Constantinople and the church of the Holy Apostles as preserved in the Athos manuscript should be understood as being an assortment of related verses rather than a complete and polished poem. There may also, in its slightly repetitive nature, be an element of the oral version of the poem present in this text, an issue to which I shall return.

Scholars have tended to be sharply critical of Constantine's poem. The early editors were restrained in their praise of it.[24] Glanville Downey, who was prepared to see Constantine as presenting an original point of view, described his style as 'artificial and frequently involved'.[25] Alan Cameron described the poem as 'dreary but not unimportant'.[26] Alexander Kazhdan said that although the work is written in iambics, readers should not confuse metrical composition with poetry.[27] He suggested that there was no personal emotional attitude on the part of Constantine to the objects he described. The Annunciation, for example, is devoid of any reflection or association, let alone emotion; it is dry and matter-of-fact in contrast to, for example, the 'passionate' account of the patriarch Germanos in his homily *On the Annunciation*.[28] For Kazhdan, the poem was best seen as the work of an intellectual paying tribute to historicism. As poetry, he claimed, Constantine's writing was artificial, patchy, amateur and incoherent, full of unnecessary repetitions, composite words, neologisms and non-classical adjectives, all elements worthy only of criticism.[29] The poem was written with an 'abstract "objectivism"', apparent not only in the 'coldness' of Constantine's imagery but also in his attention to architectural volumes and arithmetical figures, in his itemised delineation of the marbles of the church, and in his abstract similes.[30]

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[24] For example, Reinach, 'Commentaire', 37, 64.
[25] Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 220.
[26] Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 300.
[27] Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, 159.
[28] Kazhdan does not specify to which homily he refers.
[29] Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, 161.
[30] Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, 160. Kazhdan oddly suggests that the description was 'educative', 159, though why is not clear. As Kazhdan himself points out, calling Constantine VII 'victorious and wise lord' seems strange in an educative context.

It is apparent that, for Kazhdan at least, the distinction between poetry and metrical composition was the presence of emotion. But, as Marc Lauxtermann has said, we need to understand Byzantine poetry in its own contexts and definitions, not ours.[31] Here, the question of 'emotion' is very different. Elizabeth Jeffreys has made it clear that emotion was not an essential part of Byzantine poetry.[32] Rather, the process of composing involved getting words into the right metrical patterns, patterns inherited from Classical authors. The structure of the verse was critical in determining what a poem said and how it said it: the choice of verse-type affected the syntax, word order, vocabulary, all the expressive forms of verbal communication. There were expectations of special morphological forms or particular elements of vocabulary suitable for level of discourse; certain forms were metrically useful, only used in metrical contexts and avoided in prose. Significantly, the structure of Byzantine poetry was affected by linguistic shifts: Greek moved from syllable length to syllable stress. Where pattern forms in Classical Greek consisted of long and short syllables, increasingly these lengths no longer formed part of the language of daily life. Accent metres were modified but metrics and the writing of poetry was a technique whose rules were acquired laboriously. As a result, writing by these rules was increasingly seen as a peak of artistic achievement and an expertise in formal language and its use was a critical skill for high-level officials and clerics. In this context, it is unsurprising that Constantine chose to write poetry and it is unfair to criticise that poetry for a perceived lack of emotion. The frequent references throughout the text to his composition in iambs (lines 5, 390, 407) perhaps underline Constantine's pride in his own achievement in this long poem.

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[31]   M. Lauxtermann, 'Byzantine Poetry in Context', in P. Odorico and P. A. Agapetos (eds), *Pour une 'nouvelle' histoire de la littérature byzantine: problèmes, méthodes, approches, propositions. Actes du Colloque international philologique, Nicosie-Chypre, 25–28 mai 2000* (Paris, 2002), 139–151; Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 20–21; M. Lauxtermann, 'Byzantine Didactic Poetry and the Question of Practicality', in P. Odorico, P. A. Agapetos and M. Hinterberger (eds), *'Doux remède': poésie et poétique à Byzance* (Paris, 2009), 37–46. In the context of the following discussion, I wish I had seen Floris Bernard's doctoral thesis much sooner: F. Bernard, *The beats of the pen. Social context of reading and writing poetry in eleventh-century Constantinople*, Faculteit Letteren en Wijsbegeerte. Vakgroep Latijin en Grieks, Gent, 2010, available on-line at: https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/915696 (Accessed 31st July 2012; with thanks to Foteine Spingou for the reference).

[32]   E. Jeffreys, 'Why Produce Verse in Twelfth-Century Constantinople?', in P. Odorico and P. A. Agapetos (eds), *Pour une 'nouvelle' histoire de la littérature byzantine: problèmes, méthodes, approches, propositions. Actes du Colloque international philologique, Nicosie-Chypre, 25–28 mai 2000* (Paris, 2002), 219–230; M. Jeffreys, 'The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse', *DOP* 28 (1974), 190–191.

Furthermore, in understanding Byzantine poetry in its own context, we need especially to understand its relationship to manuscript copies. As Lauxtermann has pointed out, most Byzantine poems are found in only a handful of manuscripts.[33] Those more widely preserved seem to be poems where the subject-matter appeared to have a wider significance, one which was very often religious. What was copied and recopied was not based on poetic quality but on what interested or was relevant to later generations.[34] That there might once have been three or more manuscript versions of Constantine's poem suggests that it was a piece thought worth copying. But it needs to be remembered that the text of Constantine's poem that survives is fifteenth century and clearly a copy at some distance from the temporal life of the poem, though at what remove from the tenth century it is impossible to say. Its fifteenth-century context was as part of a collection of other texts including orations by Church Fathers, commentaries by the ninth–tenth century writer Niketas David the Paphlagonian and some anonymous iambic canons and verse lives, and it is not clear how it fits with these texts.[35]

Manuscripts give a distorted image of Byzantine poetry: they represent the poem in its second-hand version, or even further down the line from the original composition, a particularly acute issue in the context of Constantine's poem.[36] Poems were, by and large, composed for oral delivery; their appearance as written texts is, usually, a record after their delivery to an audience (and in no way reflects their success or failure with that audience). Thus the original manuscript must have been the author's own working copy; how widely that might then be copied, by whom and for whom is a matter for conjecture. Lauxtermann's view is that there were a very restricted number of copies and thus a limited audience for written poetry.[37] There is a paradox therefore at the heart of Byzantine poetry: poems had, we assume, potentially large audiences of listeners but a selected small public of readers. In the case of Constantine's poem, or poems, no knowledge of their delivery survives. There is no evidence of their being composed for a specific event (as was the case, for example, with

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[33] Lauxtermann, 'Byzantine Poetry in Context', 145 and 148.

[34] For example, George of Pisidia's *Hexameron* was widely copied, unlike his poems in praise of the emperor Heraklios. Lauxtermann, 'Byzantine Poetry in Context', 145–146, suggested that this was because the *Hexameron* gave useful information about the Creation to general Christian audiences whilst a panegyric on Heraklios by George had a specific chronologically-fixed context and no general application.

[35] The poem makes up folios 139ʳ–147ʳ of a 171-folio manuscript. See Vassis, 'Introduction', in this volume.

[36] Lauxtermann, 'Byzantine Poetry in Context', 148–149.

[37] Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 61–63.

Paul the Silentiary's sixth-century poem on Hagia Sophia) nor for an audience beyond that of Constantine VII, and possibly Romanos Lekapenos and his family. Although Lauxtermann has isolated elements of an encomiastic speech within the text (lines 1–18 and 285–422)[38] as it survives, that does not prove that the poem was ever delivered. The text as we have it raises other issues over delivery: how was the poem delivered? Byzantine poetry, dependent on rhythm, came to life when spoken aloud and Byzantium was a culture in which reading aloud appears to have been the norm. So was it declaimed? Read? Even sung? Does the amount of repetition, especially of key words and phrases (phrases: γῆς πέδον in lines 496, 558, 588, 874; 'Constantine scion of the purple' at 1, 27 and 393 and 'son of the most famous Leo' at 278, 419; whole lines: 564, 595, 606 are the same; 209 and 240, 930 and 936 are very similar; 431 and 433 echo 420 and 422), simply indicate unfinished business and the putting together of different drafts by an editor, whether Constantine or another? Or does it relate to the poem's incarnation as an oral text, one potentially delivered from memory with repeated phrases and lines helping the speaker to remember where he was going and filling the metre?

If little can be said of the delivery of the poem, what can be said of its patronage and context? Throughout the whole text as it survives, Constantine of Rhodes claims that the poem was the commission of Constantine VII. In lines 8–9, the poet says that he was ordered to write; at line 12 that he brought 'service unbidden'; at lines 277 and 387 that he wrote at the 'urging' and 'order' of the emperor; but at lines 426–428 that he, a devoted servant of Leo VI, the emperor's father, 'wove' and 'gave' the poem to Constantine VII. Effectively, therefore, Constantine Rhodios establishes Constantine Porphyrogennetos as his patron. What this actually meant is unclear. Was Rhodios commanded or was the poem a 'gift'? Did the poet expect payment or honours in return? Marc Lauxtermann has argued that there is no evidence to suggest that Byzantine poets between the seventh and eleventh centuries expected to make money from their work, in contrast to poets writing in the twelfth century.[39] Certainly, in Constantine's poem, there are none of the explicit expressions of poverty and begging for support that are found in the works of poets such as Prodromos.[40] Nevertheless, given what is known about poetry in tenth-century Byzantium, was it the case that poets composed pieces in hope rather than expectation? What seems more likely is a situation akin to that of Ming China where poets,

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[38]   Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City'.

[39]   Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 35–36 and 40.

[40]   R. Beaton, 'The rhetoric of poverty: the lives and opinions of Theodore Prodromos', *BMGS* 11 (1987): 1-28.

as educated men, did not ask for money but did expect gifts.[41] Further, although the emperor Constantine appears in the poem as its patron, questions of date again suggest that this needs nuancing. If any part belongs to Constantine VII's early years, that raises the question of whether the emperor was making an early start to his career as a literary patron, as the poet suggests (lines 9–10; 387, for example) or whether, in this the period of his minority, it was a commission on the part of his regency. In describing Constantine VII as a 'compassionate lord', a 'champion of those wearied in their labours' (lines 17–18), is Rhodios talking of an established emperor with a record of patronage or is he expressing a pious trope? Ioannis Vassis rightly notes that the second dedicatory epigram (lines 423–436) is very different in tone, ending with a prayer addressed to the Apostles, to protect the emperor from all danger and from the threats of unnamed 'wretched' enemies. He suggests that this implies that the two epigrams were written under different circumstances and at different times.[42] If the work or any part of it does belong to the later years, then it leaves open the relationship between the poet and the Lekapenoi.

What the context for the composition of the poem might have been is unknown. Downey favoured the dating 931–944, the reign of the four emperors, as he felt this meant that the poem fitted with the theme of Constantine VII's devotion to the church of the Holy Apostles.[43] The emphasis on a later date, even one beyond the rule of four emperors, certainly fits with what is known of Constantine VII's work in relation to the church. He wrote an oration for delivery at the festival of the translation of the body of John Chrysostom – it is assumed for the 500th anniversary in 938 – and another one for the annual commemoration of Gregory of Nazianzos at the church, and he also constructed a shrine for St Theophano within the church.[44] However, although it does describe relics within the church, the poem as we have it does not mention Chrysostom or Gregory, which might be taken as implying that it pre-dated Constantine VII's activities with these saints.

The church itself was a site of importance to the Macedonian emperors generally. Michael III and then Basil I had begun, after a period of over 300

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[41]   C. Clunas, *Elegant Debts. The Social Art of Wen Zhengming* (London, 2004).

[42]   However, Vassis also suggests that the second dedicatory epigram was not intended for inclusion in the 'new work', since two lines (431 and 433) are reused almost word for word in the immediately preceding section (lines 420 and 422).

[43]   Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian'.

[44]   Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 216; Ševčenko, 'Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus', 170 and n. 8. For the shrine of St Theophano, see G. Downey, 'The Church of All Saints (the Church of St Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople', *DOP* 9/10 (1956), 301–305.

years, to use Constantine the Great's mausoleum at the church as an imperial mausoleum again.[45] The *Life of Basil*, written in the reign of Constantine VII, claimed that Basil had carried out significant restoration works on the church.[46] Leo VI wrote a homily around the translation of the body of St John Chrysostom to the church and may himself have carried out restorations of the building.[47] In this broader context, dating the poem to the early years of Constantine's reign, to the regency of his mother, in fact, might indicate a commission celebrating the Macedonian imperial past and underlining the legitimacy of Constantine VII.

A further question is how far locating a context for the work in relation to the account of the Holy Apostles ignores the first half of the text, the account of the monuments of the city. What might have been the reason for a poem on this topic? Ought it, in fact, to be decoupled totally from the section on the Holy Apostles and seen as originally having been a separate poem for a different set of circumstances? What were the circumstances that might have led to the poet (if it was he) putting the two sections together? The section on the monuments of Constantinople can be seen to fit into a patriographic and even cataloguing tradition, said to be a feature of the later reign of Constantine VII, but the text, as I will discuss later, in its emphasis on imperial figures and imperial legitimacy, might also have been composed in support of a young, vulnerable emperor and his regents.

If then the specific context of the poem is lost to us, what of its wider cultural context? In its subject matter and form, the poem as a whole fits in well with literary activities in both the ninth and tenth centuries. In its concern with the monuments of Constantinople, it shares an interest with texts such as the tenth-

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45   The *Book of Ceremonies*, ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829–1830), vol. 2, ch. 42, p. 643 provided a list of the imperial tombs in the church; P. Grierson, 'The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042)' with an Additional Note by C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 16 (1962), 3–63; also see Downey, 'The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors', 27–51.

46   The *Life of Basil* forms Book 5 of *Theophanes Continuatus*. This account is section 80, lines 1–5, p. 323. It is translated in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 192. However, see now I. Ševčenko's edition and translation of the *Life: Chronographiae Quae Theophanis Continuati Nomine Fertur Liber Quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris Amplectitur* (Berlin, 2011). For Theophanes Continuatus and the *Life of Basil* as part of a single commission by Constantine VII, though possibly by a different author to books 1–4, see I. Ševčenko, 'The Title and Preface to Theophanes Continuatus', *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, ns 52 (1998), 77–93. See the introduction of the recent modern Greek translation of the Vita Basilii: Chr. Sideri, Κωνσταντίνος Ζ' Πορφυρογέννητος, Βίος Βασιλείου. Η βιογραφία του αυτοκράτορα Βασιλείου Α' του Μακεδόνος από τον εστεμένο εγγονό του (Athens, 2010) for a good summary of recent bibliography. My thanks to Foteini Spingou for this reference.

47   F. Halkin (ed.), *Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome* (Brussels, 1977), XI, 20, 521–522; T. Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden, 1997), 26.

century *Patria*. Rhodios's categorising and listing of monuments and mosaics might appear as part of the codification and encyclopaedism of the period, the defining of order and collecting of the heritage of the pagan and Christian pasts apparent in the literary work of both Leo VI and Constantine VII.[48] Both emperors commissioned and participated in a wide range of literary ventures across a variety of subjects, including theology and history, court ceremony, foreign policy, law codes and collections of military, agricultural and even veterinary works.[49] Constantine VII is usually regarded as most engaged in his antiquarian interests and compilations between 920 and 945, and scholars such as Downey have taken this as an additional reason for dating Rhodios's poem to the reign of the four emperors.[50] However, an imperial interest in poetry is apparent in Leo VI's own literary compositions and it was towards the end of Leo VI's reign and the start of Constantine VII's that Leo Choirosphaktes was active in composing anacreontic verses for both emperors, including a poem on a secular building that also formed a commentary on the court environment.[51] The classicism of Constantine of Rhodes's poem matches with the interest in the classical past, especially in the literary styles and language of the perceived classical past, among members of the educated elite in both the ninth and tenth centuries.[52] Rhodios, who was active as an author from at least 908

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[48] See, for example, Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, ch. 7: 'At the Court of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos'; and ch. 15: 'Literature in the Age of Encyclopedism'. For Leo as author, see S. F. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912). Politics and People* (Leiden, 1997), 115–116; and Antonopoulou, *Homilies*.

[49] For Constantine VII as author and a discussion of tenth-century encyclopaedism, see Lermerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, ch. 10, and Ševčenko's important corrective 'Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus', 167–196, with its very full references to the bibliography on Constantine VII.

[50] Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 216. Manuscript *Barberini gr. 310* appears to be an anthology of anacreontic verses made for or by Constantine VII: Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 66-67. For Byzantine poetry more widely in the tenth century, see W. Hörandner, 'Poetic Forms in the Tenth Century', in A. Markopoulos (ed.), Κωνσταντῖνος Ζ΄ ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος καὶ ἡ ἐποχή του. Β΄ Διεθνὴς Βυζαντινολογικὴ συνάντηση (Δελφοί, 22-26 Ἰουλίου 1987), (Athens, 1989), vol. 2, 135–154.

[51] For Leo Choirosphaktes, see P. Magdalino, 'The Bath of Leo the Wise and the "Macedonian Renaissance" Revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial and Ideology', *DOP* 42 (1988), 97–118 and 'Byzantine Courtier', 98.

[52] Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 120–121, suggests that classicism was a short-lived phase in the ninth and tenth centuries, beginning with Leo the Philosopher and ending with the compilation of the *Palatine Anthology*. For Constantine VII's classicism as a deliberate archaising rather than a rebirth, see Ševčenko, 'Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus', 184. For the continuous use of the classical tradition, even as a 'mock classical façade' see C. Mango, 'Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium', in M. Mullett and R. Scott

(the libel on behalf of Samonas) to a point after 944 (the compilation of the *Palatine Anthology*), could, in theory, have found an appropriate context for the composition of his poem or poems at almost any point in this period.

The Poem

The style and language of the poem seem typical of much tenth-century Byzantine writing.[53] Although Kazhdan complained that Constantine's writing was artificial, patchy, amateur and incoherent, full of unnecessary repetitions, composite words, neologisms and non-classical adjectives, this seems unduly harsh. The repetitive elements of the poem might be better understood both in the context of this as a draft or working copy and in relation to the essentially oral nature of Byzantine poetry. As for composite words, neologisms and non-classical adjectives, such were the features of Byzantine writing and to criticise their presence is perhaps to apply anachronistic views.

Instead, Constantine might be seen as an inventive and creative user of language. In his satirical verses, in the tradition of Aristophanes, he used compound words of his own creation to assault and abuse his opponents. Here, compound words help especially in the description of complicated architectural features where it might be that new words fitting the metre served both to display the poet's skill with language and to make vivid to his audience the monuments he described. Constantine's compounds include such terms as σφαιροσύνθετος ('dome-fashioned' in lines 32, 503, 610); τετράριθμος ('four-numbered' in lines 562, 592); πεντασύνθετος ('five-composed', line 572); πινσόπυργος ('towering piers', line 592); κυκλοσύνθετος ('circle-composed', line 622); ἐργοσυνθέται ('those putting the work together', line 624), all in the context of buildings, as well as κοσμοπαμπόθητος ('universally-beloved', line 59) and πεζοδρόμος ('traveller on foot', line 331). He often appears to have used σύνθετος ('put together', 'compounded', 'composite') as the second element in such compounds,

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(eds), *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition* (Birmingham, 1981), 48–57, 'façade' at 50; and H. Hunger, 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: The Importance of Rhetoric', in Mullett and Scott, *Classical Tradition*, 35–47. Also see the papers in A. Rhoby and E. Schiffer (eds.), *Imitatio, aemulatio, variatio: Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Vienna 2010), a reference I owe to Foteine Spingou.

[53]   It requires more qualified scholars than I to comment on the language, metre and poetic style of the poem and to set it into the context of tenth-century Byzantine poetry; Marc Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 153, promised that the second volume of this book would deal with longer poems including Constantine's.

again perhaps reflecting the demands of the metre. Θεοστήρικτος, 'God-supported' (line 440) is only otherwise noted in Constantine's own epigram on the cross dedicated at Lindos in the *Palatine Anthology* (*AP* 15; 15). Such a use of complex compound words was very much a feature of ninth- and tenth-century poetry; Arethas, for example, used them enthusiastically.[54]

Similarly, do composite neologisms such as πινσόπυργος and σφαιρόμορφη and non-classical adjectives like πάγκλυτος ('glorious', which Kazhdan complains is used six times) indicate a lack of command of language or a willingness to employ unusual terms to display a range of linguistic command? In this context, Constantine also employed an array of unusual and invented technical-seeming terms, words such as πεντάστεγος, πινσόπυργος and σφαιροσύνθετος: 'five-roofed', 'towering-piers', 'dome-fashioned'. Other technical terms, whilst appearing unusual and indeed as potential neologisms, nevertheless form a part of ninth- and tenth-century vocabulary used in literary accounts describing buildings. *Kosmete*, κοσμήτη (*kosmetes*/κοσμήτης, lines 678, 747) indicates a cornice or entablature and is found in Patriarch Germanos's *Mystic History*, where the cornice of the church signifies the holy order of the world.[55] More unusual, or perhaps more specific to the ninth and tenth centuries are *lakarikon*, λακαρικὸν (line 725), found also in the *Narratio* of Hagia Sophia where it also seems to mean 'carved' and *pinsos*, πινσός, meaning 'prop' or 'pier' in place of the more usual *pessos*, πεσσός.[56]

In fact, many of the apparently technical terms that Constantine employed have Classical origins. *Sphaira* (σφαῖρα) and terms related to it such as s*phairikos*

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[54]   L. Westerink (ed.), *Arethae Archiepiscopi Caesariensis Scripta minora* (Leipzig, 1968–1972), index, lists about c.300 (cf. the comments in Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, 83). In his poem on the bath of Leo VI, Choirosphactes has the compound θολοκογχόχρυσον ἔργον ('gilded work in dome and conch', line 27): Magdalino, 'The Bath of Leo the Wise', 116 (text); also Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 136–137.

[55]   Mango uses 'cornice' in his translation of parts of Constantine's poem (*Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 200; also n. 72 on p. 197). Germanos, *Historia Mystagogia Ecclesiastica*, section 8, uses the same term, translated by Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 143 as 'cornice' and by Paul Meyendorff, *St Germanus of Constantinople, On the Divine Liturgy* (New York, 1984), 62–63 as 'entablature'. The term perhaps derives from κοσμέω, 'to order, arrange, adorn'.

[56]   *Narratio de S. Sophia*, section 15, in ed. Preger *Scriptores Originum*, vol. 1, 93. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 98, n. 214 suggests that it might be derived from the Latin *laquearia*. Πινσός, which can mean 'block', is used by Prokopios, *Buildings*, at 1,1,37 and 1,167–173. See Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 77, n. 102, and Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, 205. The tenth-century *Souda Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler (Leipzig, 1928–1938) defines the term in this way: 'Πισὸς also [sc. attested is] πινσός ["platform"]; but [sc. this is] πεσὸς in Procopius'. This translation is taken from the Souda On-Line: www.stoa.org, under the keyword πισός.

and *hemisphairion* were commonly used by Greek writers in the Roman period to indicate domes.[57] These terms seem to have been interchangeable. For example, at line 580, Constantine used 'dome [*sphaira*] cut in two' to describe the main dome, but elsewhere simply refers to it simply as a *sphaira* (lines 574, 588). Prokopios described the roof of the Holy Apostles as τὸ σφαιροειδὲς ('sphere-like structure')[58] whilst Constantine employed σφαιρομόρφῳ συνθέσει (line 581, translated here as 'dome-shaped structure'), using one of his many compound words. Downey suggested that the word *sphaira* was used of domes because the most obvious feature of a dome is its sphericity and so a dome was a *sphaira* because it resembled this geometric figure. Certainly descriptions of shapes appear to have been a common feature of several architectural terms. *Apsis* (ἀψίς), as a word for both 'vault' and 'arch', was used as such by writers in the Roman period. The point was that the word carried connotations of curves and so it was this sense of the shape common to both arch and vault, rather than their structural dissimilarities, that led to its use in this context.[59] Paul the Silentiary used *apsis* to describe architectural features involving curves, from the drum of the dome of Hagia Sophia to the curved profiles of the domes visible on the outside of the building. It is no surprise to find Constantine employing it similarly. *Kubos* (κύβος), 'cube' or 'square', used consistently by Constantine in describing the plan and form of the church, was also a common geometrical figure with a wider use. More widely, *Sphendone* (σφενδόνη) was the term used for the curved end of the Hippodrome in Constantinople but it originally meant 'sling' or 'hoop' and Constantine's use of it here in describing what appears to be the vaulting of the Holy Apostles seems also to refer to the curved shape indicated by the word.

Other classical architectural terms used by Constantine seem general in nature. *Stoa* (στοά) was a term used for covered colonnades in the Roman period. Later, writers such as Evagrios used it of independent buildings, as well as of colonnades along streets; Prokopios appears to use it of any building consisting of a colonnade. As such, it seems to have been a general term for any structure consisting of supports bearing a roof.[60] *Embolos* (ἔμβολος) could indicate either a portico or a peg.[61] Terms such as these when used by authors such as Constantine seem less like specific architectural terms, though they may well

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[57]   Downey, 'Architectural Terms', 22–34, esp. 22–26.
[58]   Downey, 'Architectural Terms', 23.
[59]   Downey, 'Architectural Terms', 28.
[60]   Downey, 'Architectural Terms', 28, 34; Downey, 'The Significance of *Stoa* and *Basilike*', 194–211.
[61]   See *ODB*, vol. 1, 'Embolos'.

have had specialised meanings when used by architects, and more like widely-used descriptors of certain architectural features.

In this context of Constantine's architectural specificity, or lack of, the word *gonia* (γωνία) meaning 'corner' or 'angle', has raised discussion. Euclid used it as a specific technical term denoting a plane or solid angle. In literature, however, the word became used to describe any internal or external angle, and so, by extension, a corner or a secluded spot or joint: Prokopios, for example, used it to describe the angles formed by the pendentives in Hagia Sophia.[62] Constantine uses it in several places. At line 559, he says that in designing the central square of the church, the architect set up *goniai*. This has been read in a technical sense as his referring specifically to the foundations of the piers in the four corners of the central hall.[63] It can also be taken in a more general sense as meaning that the architect set up the four angles or corners of the central space. Generally, however, Constantine's use of architectural terms does not appear to be an exact technical vocabulary. Rather, the words he employs are those in more general use and often those with a Classical pedigree. His use of *gonia* surely falls into the same category.

The tradition of using technical and semi-technical terms, with varying degrees of technical precision, was a long-standing one especially in prose writers such as Prokopios, but found also in Paul the Silentiary's account of Hagia Sophia and in ninth-century accounts of buildings and monuments including homilies by Photios and Leo VI, or Leo Choirosphaktes's poem on a bath house.[64] Constantine's employment of such terms was an accepted and perhaps expected part in this sort of writing. But in writing poetry for an imperial audience, it is highly improbable that Constantine intended to produce a piece of technical writing. That practical account would be the role of the architect, and Constantine deliberately distanced himself from such craftsmen, claiming to be a stranger to the deeds and theories of architects and geometers (lines 541–542). To use technical language in its correct technical sense was an improper use of language for one writing high-style literature. Instead, in showing an ability to take and modify technical terms to his purpose, to adapt the words of architects (lines 546–547), Constantine displayed his education and learning and his

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[62] Downey, 'Architectural Terms', 29.

[63] Downey, 'Architectural Terms', 29, n. 25, promised to deal with this further in his edition of Constantine's poem.

[64] Photios, *Homily* 10 (on the Pharos): B. Laourdas (ed.), *Photiou Homiliai* (Thessalonike, 1959) and C. Mango (trans.), *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington, DC, 1958); Leo VI, *Sermon* 34 (on the church built by Stylianos Zaoutzas): T. Antonopoulou (ed.), *Leo VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae* (Turnhout, 2008); partial trans. in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 203–205; Leo Choirosphaktes in Magdalino, 'Bath of Leo the Wise'.

fitness to write poetry about buildings. This might be where his creation of new words also fits in, terms such as 'dome-fashioned', borrowing from the language of architecture but also changing it. Precision and exact terminology was not a prerequisite; indeed, it might even, if the language used was too unfamiliar, stand in the way of the audience's understanding and appreciation.[65]

Although Justinian 'transformed' the church (line 497), Anthemios or Isidore the Younger are described as the architects of the building. Constantine puts a distance between the emperor as patron and the emperor as builder: the building work is the creation of the architect and the common image of the emperor/builder as creator in the image of God is one absent from his text. He uses a variety of terms to describe the architect. *Mechanikos*, μηχανικός, of which Constantine's *mechanourgos*, μηχανουργός, the architect he denies being, is a variant) appears on several occasions. It was the term used in the early Byzantine period for the architect as a man educated in the liberal arts and to the Vitruvian ideal, but it also denoted a man with practical skill and experience. The term is used by Prokopios for Anthemios and Isidore in the *Buildings*.[66] *Architekton* (ἀρχιτέκτων), the term used perhaps of the more practical master-builder is not employed by Constantine, but *technites* (τεχνίτης), often seen as 'artificer' and used for skilled workers, is used almost interchangeably with *mechanourgos* (see, for example, line 557 where *technites* is used but must apply to Anthemios or Isidore) and later with *zographos* (ζωγράφος), 'artist' (lines 861, 865, 889). Other terms for specific craftsmen that Constantine employs include *lithoxoos* (λιθοξόος) used in Late Roman texts to indicate 'stonemason' (line 671) or 'sculptor' perhaps.[67] *Marmaroglyphoi* (μαρμαρογλύφοι) ('marble-sculptors', line 693) is an unusual term, perhaps one created by Constantine, relating to *marmarioi* (μαρμάριοι), 'construction workers', but its meaning is clear enough. Such fluidity in choice of terminology is not unusual. Greek architectural terminology generally was very wide-ranging and consequently difficult to classify. There were a variety of words in Greek that conveyed 'architect' and although scholars suspect that they may have had specific designations, for example, rating the *mechanikos* above the *technites* because of his possession of

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[65]   As Downey, 'Architectural Terms', 33, made very clear.

[66]   Downey, 'Byzantine Architects'; Schibille, 'Profession of the Architect'. Also see S. Cuomo, *Technology and Culture in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2007), 134–145, on Late Antique architects.

[67]   This appears to be its use in *AP* 5, 14 and in the *Life of Basil*, *Theophanes Continuatus* 5, ch. 89, line 8, p. 332. See also *ODB*, vol. 2, 'Mason'.

theoretical knowledge, how firmly terms were applied to individuals is very hard to assess.[68]

Despite Kazhdan's criticisms of neologisms, the language and subject matter of the poem makes it clear that Constantine was well-read in classical mythology and that he selected appropriate images and expressions to fit the themes and purposes of his poem. Lauxtermann has shown how, in compiling their poetic anthologies, both Kephalas and Constantine emphasised form rather than content in rendering the epigrams they copied acceptable to their readers.[69] In this poem, Constantine did not display an unreserved admiration for Classical literature and was at pains to distance himself from Classical authors ('arrogant Homer', for example, at line 307), whilst still adopting their language and imagery. The two long passages dealing with Classical myth (lines 130–144 on the Gigantomachy; lines 506–528 on the stars and their myths) display a considerable grasp of Classical mythology, but also establish the superiority of Christianity over these objects of mockery and 'fabulous accounts' (line 528). Constantine's language also echoed his familiarity with classicism. Ioannis Vassis's textual apparatus highlights many of the Classical references made by Constantine, including to Pindar (line 397), Aeschylus (line 513), Euripides (lines 12, 807), and Sophocles (line 965) as well as Late Antique authors such as Aelius Aristides, Themistius and Nonnos. However, not unexpectedly, the greatest number of Classical references are to Homer.[70] Classicising or Atticising words include θρίαμβος, 'triumph' (line 170) and the poetic word ὄμμα, 'eye' (line 236). This is not a random, thoughtless copying; throughout, Rhodios displayed an ability to select classicising words and phrases where they were appropriate. For example, comparisons of emperors to Orpheus were conventional in Byzantine imperial encomia: Orpheus used his skills to tame

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[68]   R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), 43–44. Cuomo, *Technology and Culture*, 142, cites a fourth-century inscription where it appears that the same man is referred to by three different words all translatable as 'architect'. Not enough research has been carried out on Middle Byzantine architectural terms to be sure if the same was true in this period, but it is at least plausible.

[69]   Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 95–98 and 121–123. Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 327, sees Constantine as 'limited and condescending' in his appreciation of classical art and literature. However, as Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 97–99, suggests, Constantine needed to make sure he would not himself be accused (as he accused others and as was a characteristic in ninth-century Byzantium) of paganism and Hellenistic leanings.

[70]   See also the comments of Maguire, 'Truth and Convention', 135. For Homer as the Byzantine schoolbook above all, see R. Browning, 'Homer in Byzantium', *Viator* 6 (1975), 15–33.

enemies and to pacify dominions; so too emperors.[71] Constantine's reference to Orpheus reversed this emphasis: he himself as poet surpasses Orpheus (lines 288) who sang 'stale frivolities' (line 293). He invoked the Graces to make it clear that both he and Constantine VII possessed the graces of pagan art and literature without being defiled by their content (lines 304–310).[72] Constantine's views of those unable to use classicism appropriately were made very apparent in the lemma to Kometas's epigram on the Raising of Lazaros based on Homeric centos (*AP* 15, 17), where he abused that author's poor choices and laboured language.[73]

It needs to be recognised that most of Rhodios's classical references could have come from those authors whose works formed the basic curriculum for an educated Byzantine in the ninth and tenth centuries. However, the fact that Constantine was almost certainly redactor J of the *Palatine Anthology* serves to underline his command of Classical and classicising poetry, particularly in its epigrammatic form. Unsurprisingly, there are resonances in the text of the poem with poems in the *Palatine Anthology*. Although the elaborate simile of stones and marbles compared to meadows and flower buds (line 722) is not an uncommon one, it is also one found in the *Palatine Anthology* (1, 10, 60–61).[74] Nevertheless, the classical aspects of Constantine's poetic language are only part of the story. Like other literature of the ninth and tenth centuries, the text is also concerned to invoke biblical, patristic and historical works, for this was a period where Byzantine authors turned both to the Bible and their own glorious past for inspiration, constructing themselves as heirs of both Israel and Rome.[75] Both in the themes of his poem and in the language he uses, Constantine evoked both of these themes. Through the inscription on Justinian's statue, he describes Constantinople as holding the power and sceptres of Rome (line 73) and Leo VI as wielding the sceptre of the new Rome (line 280), whilst Constantine VII is an emperor in the tradition of Solomon (line 309), supported by the Apostles (lines 420–422 and 436). Constantine's abuse of the Jews implies very clearly

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[71]   Magdalino, 'Bath of Leo the Wise', 97–118, esp. 106–107; H. Maguire, 'Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art', *Gesta*, 28 (1989), 217–231, esp. 219; H. Maguire, 'Epigrams, Art and the "Macedonian Renaissance"', *DOP* 48 (1994), 106, gives the text and translation of a 31-line poem by John Geometres which opens with Orpheus as the gifted musician.

[72]   For something similar in Geometres, see Maguire, 'Style and Ideology', esp. 218–219 and 220–221.

[73]   See Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 109–110.

[74]   And indeed in George of Pisidia, *Hexameron*.

[75]   Ševčenko, 'Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus', underlines the importance of theological writings in the period; Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, 5.

that they are no longer to be seen as the Chosen People: they are a disorderly and lawless people (lines 880–881, for example), implicitly replaced by the Christian Byzantines.[76]

The Christian resonances of the poem belong largely to the section on the Church of the Holy Apostles. The biblical sources for Constantine's language highlighted by Ioannis Vassis in the Greek edition include Exodus (line 809), Proverbs (line 309), Job (line 875) and, most frequently from the Old Testament, the Book of Psalms (for example, Psalm 44 (45), at line 644; Psalm 96 (97).2 at 816; Psalm 88 (89) at 952–953), and, of course, the Evangelists. The apocryphal *Acts of Pilate* also appear to offer a point of reference for Constantine's version of the Virgin's lament.[77] When talking of the images in the Church of the Apostles, Constantine's language becomes more evocative of the Christian context of his writing. Overtly theological terms are employed, such as κένωσις, *kenosis*, ('abasement', line 749, derived from Paul's *Letter to the Philippians* 1, 7), contrasted with παρουσία, *parousia*, ('presence', line 750) and σάρκωσις, *sarkosis*, ('incarnation', line 752, from John 1, 14).[78] The use of σέλας, *selas*, ('radiance', line 808) carried specific theological resonances evoking the Transfiguration.[79] 'Lord and teacher' is used consistently throughout of Christ and is perhaps derived from John 13, 14. Again, Constantine's references are both subtle and appropriate. In his account of the scenes from the life of Christ, he did not simply follow the Gospels; he adapted, omitted and added details to suit his narrative.[80]

Constantine also used words and phrases reminiscent of a variety of Church Fathers, including Eusebios and Gregory of Nazianzos. However, themes and ideas current in a range of Byzantine homilies seem also to have affected his account of the Holy Apostles.[81] References to the religious works of the

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[76] The *Book of Ceremonies*, vol. 2, 9, uses the song of triumph of Moses and Israelites over Pharaoh as the proper chant for celebrating an imperial triumph over the Arabs.

[77] *Acts of Pilate*, second Greek form, ch. 10, p. 159 in A. Walker (trans.), *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations* (Edinburgh, 1870): 'where has the beauty of thy form sunk? How shall I endure to see thee suffering? ... How shall I live without thee?'; Maguire, 'Truth and Convention', 129 and n. 87, but see Alexiou, 'The Lament of the Virgin', 125, for issues over the dating of this.

[78] My thanks to Dirk Krausmuller for advice on these terms.

[79] Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*.

[80] This point is discussed more fully below in the section dealing with the Holy Apostles.

[81] For the importance of homiletic literature in this period, see T. Antonopoulou, 'Homiletic Activity in Constantinople around 900', in M. B. Cunningham and P. Allen (eds), *Preacher and Audience. Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics* (Leiden, 1998), 317–348.

enormously influential seventh-century poet, George of Pisidia, are present at several points (for example, lines 385, 407, 580, 922). The influence, or at least the evocation, of George of Nikomedia is also perhaps apparent in Constantine's account of the mosaic of the Presentation in the Temple (lines 780–791).[82] There was a tradition also of homilies on the Widow's son (lines 829–833).[83] The lamenting Mother of God at the foot of the cross was also a feature in hymns and homilies. She appears in a hymn of Ephrem the Syrian and in Romanos the Melode's on Mary at the foot of the cross, both a part of the liturgies for Holy Week. George of Nikomedia, again, in his homily on Good Friday included three laments of the Virgin, on the way to Calvary, at the Crucifixion and at the Deposition, which serve to structure the homily as a whole.[84] Patriarch Germanos made an association between Symeon's prophecy of a sword piercing Mary's heart, made at the time of the Presentation in the Temple, and her pain at the Crucifixion, a theme also used by Constantine here in his lament.[85] A further, more contemporary homilist and poet who might have influenced Constantine's writing was the emperor Leo VI. Leo has been identified as one of the most important of all Byzantine ecclesiastical poets, responsible for secular and religious poetry in a variety of forms from anacreontic odes and iambic poems to 15-syllable verses.[86] Forty-two surviving homilies ascribed to Leo survive, of which one, on the translation of John Chrysostom, was apparently delivered in the Holy Apostles and contains a short description of the church.[87]

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[82]   For the importance of George of Nikomedia as a homilist, potentially to an aristocratic lay audience, see N. Tsironis, 'Historicity and Poetry in Ninth-Century Homiletics: The Homilies of Patriarch Photios and George of Nicomedia', in Cunningham and Allen (eds.), *Preacher and Audience*, 295–316. George's Homily on the Presentation, PG 28, cols. 974–1000 and H. Maguire, 'The Iconography of Symeon with the Christ-Child in Byzantine Art', *DOP* 34/35 (1980/1981), 261–269, who argues convincingly for this homily to be ascribed to George rather than to Athanasios of Alexandria. Also see H. Maguire, 'The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art', *DOP* 31 (1977), 127 and n. 9. Though Maguire uses George to suggest what Constantine's mosaics may have looked like, the reverse is also relevant: that Constantine's account might have recalled George's text to his audience.

[83]   Maguire, 'Depiction of Sorrow', 130 and n. 27.

[84]   George of Nikomedia, *In SS Mariae Assistentem Cruci*, PG 100, cols. 1457A–1489D. See N. Tsironis, 'George of Nicomedia: Conventionality and Originality in the Homily on Good Friday', *Studia Patristica* 30 (1997), 332–337; Tsironis, 'Historicity', 305.

[85]   Germanos, *In Dominici Corporis Sepulturam*, *PG* 98, 244B–289B; Tsironis, 'George of Nikomedia', 335.

[86]   Antonopoulou, *Homilies*, 19–20.

[87]   Homily 41: Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI Sapientis*, 573–586. For its for its ascription to Leo see P. Devos, 'La translation de St Jean Chrysostome *BHG* 877h: une œuvre de

Others of Leo's homilies, notably that on the monastery of the Kauleas and on the church of Stylianos Zaoutzes, are concerned to use a description of the buildings as a part of the message of the homily, as did Photios in the ninth century, so the theme of using buildings to establish theological points was very much a contemporary one.

Theology is a central aspect of Constantine's poem on the Holy Apostles. The importance of Christ's humanity, a subject that I will go on to argue was fundamental for Constantine, was very much a key theme in Byzantine theology after Iconoclasm. The eighth-century patriarch Nikephoros emphasised the Crucifixion as proof of Christ's humanity; in the ninth century, Photios underlined the theme of the Incarnation in his homily on the image of the Mother of God in Hagia Sophia; it is a theme present in the homilies of George of Nikomedia also. Constantine can be seeing as referring to Christ's humanity and Incarnation in his use of 'abasement' and 'presence' in lines 749–750, introducing the scenes from the life of Christ, and in his descriptions of the Annunciation and Nativity, where conception 'without seed' (line 758) is followed by birth 'without travail' (line 761), and at the Crucifixion where Christ is 'naked' (γυμνός, line 928) and a 'corpse', a νεκρός, (line 934) on the cross.[88] Anti-Jewish polemic was also a feature in Byzantine homiletics, increasingly as a rhetorical set-piece, where it served to create a sense of community, 'us' versus 'them' but also certainly in the ninth century as a way of rejecting Iconoclasm, whose followers were characterised as Judaisers.[89]

Echoes of secular Byzantine authors are also apparent in Constantine's writing. His long account of the marbles used in the Holy Apostles (lines 648–674) is the most obvious place where echoes of Paul the Silentiary's account of Hagia Sophia are apparent, and Constantine's work on the *Palatine Anthology* reveals that he was familiar with Paul's writings.[90] Constantine's reference to the accounts of the Holy Apostles by 'writers of prose' (line 552) suggests that he knew Prokopios's account of the church (though, of course, there may have been

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l'empereur Léon VI', *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989), 10, and Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI Sapientis*, CCXII–CCXVI. For its date as one of the earliest of Leo's homilies see Antonopoulou, *Homilies*, 37 and 68–69.

[88] Martin, 'Dead Christ'. Also Maguire, 'Truth and Convention', 126–127 and 'Depiction of Sorrow', 162.

[89] George of Nikomedia, *In SS Mariae Assistentem Cruci*, PG 100, col. 1457A–C; Tsironis, 'Historicity', 309–312; M. Cunningham, 'Polemic as Exegesis: Anti-Jewish Invective in Byzantine Homiletics', *Sobornost incorporating Eastern Churches Review* 21 (1999), 46–68.

[90] The *Palatine Anthology* is the source for Paul and John of Gaza and they are copied out by J/Constantine according to Cameron, *Greek Anthology*, 327; though see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 87.

others that have not come down to us). Constantine's poem shares vocabulary with other literary productions of the reign of Constantine VII, notably with the *Life of Basil* in, for example, its account of Basil's church of the Nea. Here, Constantine's image of the bride and her tassels (lines 644 and 703) preparing for her Bridegroom, Christ, is found, as are sculpted vines (lines 725) and emerald-green Thessalian stone.[91]

One further literary influence for Constantine may have been the cycles of epigrams describing, and often written on or next to images, of biblical scenes, and especially scenes from the life of Christ, which are known from the ninth to twelfth centuries.[92] One such epigram cycle from *ms Marcianus Gr. 524* contains 21 three-line epigrams on scenes from life of Christ. Hörandner suggests that the texts were the work of a poet commissioned to provide accompanying inscriptions to a New Testament manuscript or a cycle on the walls of a church.[93] Another set of such epigrams forms numbers 37–89 of Book One of the *Palatine Anthology*, edited by Constantine.[94] I am not suggesting that Constantine's lines here were designed as epigrams for church walls but the idea of commentating in verse on scenes depicted in churches was a theme in poetry in this period, and one of which he was well-aware.[95]

As a poet, Constantine seems to be attentive to the potential of language. Despite its characterisation as 'dreary', Constantine's poem contains elements of what might be termed wit. He was well-known to Leo and Constantine VII as a writer with a talent for abuse, mockery and slander.[96] These talents were put to good use in this poem, where a ferocious attack on Judas Iscariot is delivered

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[91]   The bride: *Life of Basil*, *Theophanes Continuatus* 5, section 83, p. 325 and Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 194; Thessalian stone: *Life of Basil*, *Theophanes Continuatus* 5, section 89, line 6, p. 332; Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 197.

[92]   Ignatios' epigrams in *AP* 1; 113, are the earliest example of such cycles, dated to after 869: Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 76–81; W. Hörandner, 'Ein Zyklus von Epigrammen zu Darstellungen von Herrenfesten und Wunderszenen', *DOP* 46 (1992), 107–115; and Hörandner, 'A Cycle of Epigrams on the Lord's Feasts in Cod. Marc. Gr. 524', *DOP* 48 (1994), 117–133; Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 77, on dating; also see Salač, 'Quelques epigrammes', who looks at epigram cycles in the context of dating Constantine's accounts of the mosaics.

[93]   Hörandner, 'Cycle of Epigrams', 122. The epigrams and poems in this manuscript all date to the mid-eleventh to late twelfth centuries.

[94]   For a discussion of these as a 'special collection' by the redactor of the Palatine Anthology, see Salač, 'Quelques epigrammes', esp. 1–5.

[95]   This is seen, for example, in the lemma by J/Constantine to *AP* 15, 40 by Kometas on raising of Lazarus. Also see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 109–110.

[96]   In attacking Leo Choirosphaktes, Constantine accused him of paganism and child-molestation, and implied that he venerated Hellenistic idols and played various musical

(lines 867–915), abusing him as 'savage', 'shameless', a 'thrice-unhappy dog'. This passage was surely designed as a *psogos*, a piece of invective to create hostile laughter. Within the poem, Rhodios also appears to play on words.[97] Thus, in line 274, καὶ γὰρ ἔρως τις γαργαλίζει πῦρ πνέων ('for desire, breathing fire, excites me'), both ἔρως and γαργαλίζει carry erotic overtones, surely something a man who edited the amatory epigrams of the *Palatine Anthology* would be well-aware of. Other puns are apparent: συναρμόζω ('join', line 643) used here of the marbles of the church in the first instance, could also be used to mean 'join in wedlock', a meaning Constantine picks up in the metaphor about the church as bridal chamber in the subsequent lines, playing on the idea of the Christian church as bride of Christ.[98] In his account of the Incarnation, ἔνθεος, 'inspired by God' (line 753) can also mean 'full of God'. And throughout, the poem is full of wordplay on Christ the Word (Λόγος) of God, inspiring the writer to produce his own words.[99]

Certain themes or topoi found in other accounts of buildings and monuments are present in Constantine's. The idea of lifelikeness and vivid representation is present at several points, for example in the statue of Theodosios I, where horse and rider are 'almost alive' (line 222) or in the accounts of the mosaics of the Holy Apostles where the viewer is told to see the events unfolding and where the placing of direct speech into the mouth of the Virgin at the Crucifixion creates the sense of a living scene being played out before the viewer. The emotive power of images is invoked, through the artist moving the onlooker to tears (line 863) but this is not an emphatic theme of the poem and there are no overt invocations for auditors to lift their minds to God. The idea that the author cannot articulate the sight before him is expressed in several places (at line 383 for example) but, adapting a familiar trope, Constantine claims that he will be divinely and imperially inspired in order to be able to carry out his task (lines 285–290, in contrast to 266 and the 'tongues of all'; 399–417) in verse.

Commentators have tended to call the poem an ekphrasis of the wonders of Constantinople and the church of the Holy Apostles.[100] The word is used twice:

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instruments. J was also an enthusiastic mocker, as the lampoons on Kometas (see *AP* 15; 40 and the note above) illustrate. See Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, 81–82.

[97]   On puns and humour, see L. Garland, '"And his Bald Head shone like a Full Moon …": An Appreciation of the Byzantine Sense of Humour as recorded in Historical Sources of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Parergon* 8 (1990), 1–31; E. Dautermann Maguire and H. Maguire, *Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture* (Princeton, 2007).

[98]   Echoed in line 704.

[99]   e.g. lines 544–546; 840.

[100]   The title in the manuscript uses the word *stichoi*, στίχοι, or verses, though the term ekphrasis is used several times, for example between lines 18 and 19 and at line 425. Foteini

in the proem to Constantine's account of the city (between lines 18 and 19) and at line 425, where the poet introduces the ekphrasis ('vivid description') of the Holy Apostles. A distinction needs to be made about how the term can be understood. To the Byzantines, ekphrasis was a rhetorical term used of passages where the intention was to create a vivid description. Scholars, however, have tended to use it in a looser sense as the term for a 'rhetorical description of a work of art', and have often seen the rhetorical aspects of Byzantine accounts of works of art as negative qualities, obstructing our understanding of what was actually there and what it actually looked like.[101] As a result, Constantine's poem has often been treated as a repository of facts and information on monuments in Constantinople and on the actual physical appearance of the church of the Holy Apostles and a quantifying of the decorative schema of the Middle Byzantine church. It has been used in reconstructions of the church and its ground plan and criticised when its language has hindered such reconstructions.[102] However, the technique of ekphrasis, a rhetorical tool which aimed to create a vivid description, was employed in Byzantium not to recreate monuments and works of art accurately but to bring an image of them clearly to the mind's eye of the listener, emphasising perceptual understanding ahead of exact recording. Such literature is both more and less than precisely descriptive. Like Byzantine accounts of works of art generally, Constantine's poem should be understood in this context. It aimed to make the monuments and scenes described live before the eyes of the auditor or reader of the poem. An issue for us as readers is whether Constantine was talking about what he saw in front of him in the terms of the period or whether he used the terms of the period regardless of what was in front of him. For his audience, however, this was irrelevant; the poem had to make sense to them in their terms and in terms of what they knew of the monuments and the church.

Alexander Kazhdan noted that ξένος and compounds employing this word were common throughout the text of the poem.[103] The ideas of 'marvel' and

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Spingou pointed out that it was common practice to use στίχοι in manuscripts as a title for poetry.

[101]   L. James and R. Webb, '"To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places": Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium', *Art History* 14 (1991), 1–17; R. Webb, '*Ekphrasis* Ancient and Modern: The Invention of a Genre', *Word and Image* 15 (1999), 7–18; R. Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham, 2009).

[102]   By, amongst others, Reinach, 'Commentaire', 66–103; Wulff, 'Die sieben Wunder'; Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*; K. Wulzinger, 'Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel', *B* 7 (1932), 7–39; G. A. Soteriou, ''Ανασκαφαὶ τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ ναοῦ 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐν 'Εφέσῳ', *Archaiologikon Deltion* 7 (1921–1922), 211.

[103]   Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City' and Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, 159.

'strangeness' conveyed by ξένος are key themes within the text, but as important and perhaps more common than ξένος is θαῦμα, 'wonder', and words derived from this. Taken together, however, the two adjectives underline what is a fundamental element of the text: the awe and wonder that could be associated with monuments and buildings. Constantine's poem or poems had their own agenda, which was not that of providing what *we* might understand as a full and accurate description of the buildings and monuments of Constantinople. What that agenda might have been, however, in describing both the columns and statues of Constantinople and the church of the Holy Apostles, is something we have barely considered. The next two sections will examine the two distinct parts of the poem, the monuments and the church, asking what Constantine wanted to convey to his audience through them.

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Chapter 5

'A partial account of the statues of the city and its high and very great columns': Constantine's Account of Constantinople

In terms of subject matter, the opening part of Constantine's poem (lines 19–254, together with lines 255–263), describing monuments within the city of Constantinople, has attracted less attention than the section on the church of the Holy Apostles. Indeed, whilst Glanville Downey suggested that the description of the church held an important place in the literary programme of Constantine VII, he made no comment on the significance of Constantine's account of the monuments of Constantinople.[1] However, if it is accepted that Constantine composed his poem for a purpose, or a variety of purposes, then it is necessary to consider what that might have been.

Constantine's portrayal of the city has generally been used in an empirical fashion, quarried for information about both existing and lost monuments and their locations, and for what it can say about the dating and survival of monuments. But Byzantine accounts of monuments do not simply record what is there; they also offer, as Gilbert Dagron recognised, an imaginative record of how buildings and monuments were perceived and used by their audiences.[2] Like other written sources about monuments, such as Paul the Silentiary's sixth-century poem on Justinian's Hagia Sophia, or the eighth-century *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* and the tenth-century *Patria* of Constantinople, both texts concerned primarily with the topography and history of the monuments of Constantinople, and even the *Life of Basil*'s account of Basil I's building work in Constantinople, Constantine's account is not a straightforward narrative.[3] In

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[1]   Downey, 'The Builder of the Original Church', 68.

[2]   Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*.

[3]   Paul the Silentiary: ed. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius* and partial translation in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 80–96; *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*: eds. A. M. Cameron and J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: the* Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai (Leiden, 1984); the *Patria*: ed. Preger, *Scriptores Originum; Life of Basil, Theophanes Continuatus*, book 5 and translation of chs. 78–90 in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 192–199.

focusing his account on monuments and employing the technique of ekphrasis, Constantine did not write with the intention of providing an accurate description of the buildings and monuments of Constantinople. Rather, he aimed to bring them to life in the mind's eye of his audience and to show his audience their deeper significance.

The text offers a picture of tenth-century Constantinople in which seemingly random elements, seven monuments selected by the author as 'wonders', form part of a larger whole, a poem written for Emperor Constantine VII. Although the poem is not entirely coherent, there is a level of consistency in the themes treated by the poet. Constantine of Rhodes's dealings with Constantinople's architectural past appear fairly specific and focused, with a core theme, that of imperial elements within the city's monuments. He wrote for an imperial audience and therefore with an imperial agenda and his poem offers a 'Constantinople imaginaire' to its audience, where, in the choice of monuments and of historical and imperial references within the poem, the poet created a very specific history for the city, a history in which certain long-ago emperors were key figures.[4] Throughout the poem, Constantine deliberately employed this particular historical past to illuminate the contemporary present, for above all, this section of the poem, more than the section on the Holy Apostles, reflects imperial values and attitudes present in other works of the reign of Constantine VII.

Columns and Statues

The first part of the poem is often categorised as an account of 'the seven wonders of Constantinople', a poem about city monuments in the tradition of the wonders of the world. In fact, the header between lines 18 and 19 describes it as 'An introduction to the description of the church of the Holy Apostles and a particular account of the statues of the city and its high and very great columns', which is a more accurate description. This section of the poem deals almost exclusively with columns and three-dimensional sculpture within the city, with

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[4]   Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, esp. 54–60. On these themes more widely, see P. Magdalino, 'The Distance of the Past in Early Medieval Byzantium', in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto, 1999), 115–146. On the relationship of the present, past and future, see P. Magdalino, 'The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda', in R. Beaton and C. Rouché (eds), *The Making of Byzantine History* (Aldershot, 1993), 1–34. For a brief history of medieval Constantinople, see Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale* and Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople: Built Environment and Urban Development', in A. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC, 2002), 529–537.

a primary focus on seven such monuments within Constantinople. These seven, and the 'lesser' sights associated with them, in the order in which Constantine describes them, are: the Column bearing the statue of Justinian near Hagia Sophia; the Porphyry Column of Constantine the Great; the Senate House with its columns, bronze gate and Gigantomachy, together with the statue of Athena of the Lindians; the Column that bears the Cross; the Anemodoulion or bronze weathervane; the Column of Taurus, also known as the Column of Theodosios, and the statue of Theodosios near to it; and the Xerolophos, or Column of Arkadios.

All of these monuments can be located with relatively little difficulty (see the map at the front of this volume).[5] Justinian's statue is known from other authors, notably Prokopios, as being situated in the square known as the Augustaion to the south of Hagia Sophia.[6] Constantine the Great's Porphyry Column, known now also as the Burnt Column, is positioned in what was the Forum of Constantine, a short distance down the Mese, the main road of the city, from Hagia Sophia. The Senate House described by Constantine of Rhodes must be the one located in the Forum of Constantine, rather than that in the Augustaion.[7] The Column with the Cross has been identified as the one at the Philadelphion, the crossroads where the Mese branched out in two directions, northerly towards the Charisios Gate and the Holy Apostles and southerly to the Pege Gate and the Golden Gate.[8] However, its appearance at this point in Constantine's account would place it out of sequence with the other monuments he describes: the Philadelphion was located beyond both the Anemodoulion and the Column of Theodosios, which are mentioned next in the poem. The *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* and the *Patria* describe a cross erected by Constantine the Great in his Forum and one in the Artopoleion or Bakers' Quarters, just down the Mese from the Forum of Constantine.[9] Either of these would fit the location needed for the Column with the Cross to allow Constantine's poem to develop sequentially. The Anemodoulion was located between the Artopoleion and the Forum of Taurus or Forum of Theodosios.[10]

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[5] As Speck did in 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 249–268.

[6] Prokopios, *Buildings*, I, 2 5–12.

[7] See the discussion in the Commentary, Note 38.

[8] Reinach, 'Commentaire', 43, because of its size. In *AP* 9, 799, a (the?) column in the Philadelphion is identified as 'the porphyry column', implying a different column.

[9] *Patria* 2, ch. 64, p. 185; *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, chs. 16, 52 and 58; Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 31. A marginal note to a passage said to be taken from Constantine in Kedrenos, *Synopsis Historion*, vol. 1, 564, says that Constantine's column with the cross is that at the Artopoleion.

[10] Reinach, 'Commentaire', 43; Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 28–29 and n. 37.

This Forum was the second forum along the Mese and here the Column of Theodosios and his equestrian statue were situated. Finally, the Xerolophos, the Column of Arkadios, was positioned beyond the Philadelphion, or Capitolium, and along the southern branch of the Mese in the Forum of Arkadios.

Constantine described each of his seven monuments as 'wonders'. The theme of seven city wonders was a common one within Roman and Byzantine rhetorical tradition; Athens and Rome are among cities described through their wonders.[11] Orators would often describe the seven wonders of a city in order to emphasise its civic glory, its status and standing, its culture and learning.[12] Seven itself was a significant number, the virgin number, divisible only by one, the number denoting wisdom and the Holy Spirit.[13] The seven constructed wonders echo the seven pillars of wisdom (Proverbs 9.1) and the seven hills on which Constantinople, like Rome, was supposed to have been built (line 450); seven is also the number that echoes throughout the Book of Revelations. It is also a number that reverberates through the second part of the poem, both in the account of the church of the Holy Apostles and in the description of seven scenes from the life of Christ. In the context of city wonders, Downey suggested that Constantine's choices of monuments were a demonstration of his 'taste and originality', but this is only a small part of the story.[14]

From the start, Constantine's selections were far from random and far from those chosen by a poet simply displaying taste and originality. His skill as a poet is apparent in the ways in which he used these monuments to create views and perceptions of Constantinople, its past and its present. Paul Magdalino has argued that the tenth-century city of Constantinople remained very much the Christian city that had taken shape in the fourth, fifth and early sixth centuries.[15] The Constantinian and Theodosian monuments of the city were aligned on the

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[11]   On the seven wonders in the Classical world see Brodersen, *Reiseführer zu den Sieben Weltwundern*. For the wonders of Constantinople, see P. J. Alexander, 'The Strength of Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine Eyes', *Speculum* 37 (1962), 341–345. A couple of epigrams in the *Palatine Anthology* (Gregory of Nazianzos, Book 8; 177 plus lemma B, p. 126 and Anon, Book 9; 656) talk of the seven wonders – the two have different examples – and their being surpassed. Kedrenos lists them. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 13, for θαῦμα as a typical term of description in this context. On descriptions of cities, H. Saradi, 'The *Kallos* of the Byzantine City: The Development of a Rhetorical *Topos* and Historical Reality', *Gesta* 34 (1995), 37–56 and Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens, 2006).

[12]   See Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 216–218, who compares Constantine's wonders with those in the *Patria* and in Kedrenos.

[13]   Downey in Mesarites, *Description*, 895, n. 8; Hiscock, *The Symbol at Your Door*, 18.

[14]   Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian', 217.

[15]   Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', ch. 1 and p. 53.

main streets of Constantinople. Over time, these main thoroughfares through the city developed into a display of a whole series of imperial monuments on the highest points, monuments that offered a rhythm to the city and focal points for city life.[16] The imperial fora, as spaces through which the main streets of Constantinople ran, were themselves regularly used to frame ceremony and ritual, serving almost as stage-sets for the performance of civic events.[17] By opting for columns and fora as his focal point, Constantine concentrated his audience's attention on public, visible and well-known sites.

In addition, the chosen seven were key locations for civic ceremony in the tenth century. It was no accident that Constantine's wonders were located in the main fora on the main road of the city between the Milion and the Golden Gate or that his ranked order of wonders coincided with their processional order. As Paul Speck observed, the monuments move down the Mese away from Hagia Sophia and towards the Golden Gate in a reversed processional route, for most processions began at the city gates and moved in towards the centre of Constantinople.[18] Constantine's route forms the major triumphal way in Constantinople, from the Golden Gate via the Forum of Arkadios, the Philadelphion, the Forum of Theodosios and the Forum of Constantine to the Milion and Hagia Sophia.[19] The ceremonial stations along this way were laid out in Constantine VII's *Book of Ceremonies*. In 879, Constantine VII's own grandfather, Basil I, according to his grandson's account in the *Life of Basil*, staged a triumphal entry into Constantinople, starting at the Golden Gate, with ceremonies at nine points, including the Forum of Arkadios, the Forum of Theodosios, the Artopolia with the Column with the Cross, and the Forum of Constantine, before ending up at Hagia Sophia.[20] Immediately, therefore, in its structure and choice of subject matter, Constantine of Rhodes's poem can

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[16] F. A. Bauer, 'Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 15 (2001), 27–61.

[17] See *Book of Ceremonies*, vol. 1.8 (pp. 55ff.), 1.17 (pp. 100, 105f.) between the Golden Gate and Great Palace; (pp. 501f.) the triumph of Basil; 1.5 (pp. 49ff.), 1.10 (pp. 74ff.) for the Holy Apostles to the Great Palace. Also Mango, 'Triumphal Way', 126, n. 26; Berger, 'Streets and Public Spaces', 168, suggesting that fora were small spaces; Bauer, 'Urban Space and Ritual', 45.

[18] Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos'.

[19] Mango, 'Triumphal Way', 176 and fig. 2; Bauer, 'Urban Space and Ritual', esp. 38.

[20] *Book of Ceremonies*, vol. 2, p. 501, line 16 to p. 502 line 2. On Basil's procession, see M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Ceremonies of Triumph in Byzantium and the Latin West* (Cambridge, 1986), 154–157 and 212–330. On Basil's procession and its place in ninth-century buildings of Constantinople, R. Ousterhout, 'Reconstructing Ninth-Century Constantinople', in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), 115–130.

be seen to have been developed around the implicit topic of imperial presence in Constantinople and on a theme that was to be significant in the reign of his patron, Constantine VII, that of ceremony.

Within this overarching theme, the columns had their own roles to play. In Constantine's Constantinople, it was they that were regarded as wonders; statues, though important, held a secondary place. Each column in its own space was related to a particular 'great' emperor of the past; each had a function. The Column of Justinian bore the equestrian statue of that emperor, the greatest of all emperors (lines 375–381), and the epitome of victorious, God-defended, imperial power. The Porphyry Column was described by Constantine of Rhodes, through its inscription, as explicitly placing the city under Christ's protection and, in its collection of Christian relics, as preserving Constantinople from famine (lines 71–74, 76–82).[21] The Column with the Cross guarded the city, repelled demons and was a symbol of victory for the city (lines 171, 175). Significantly, it is the fourth of the city monuments described and thus occupies central place among the wonders. The Column of Theodosios glorified the victories of that general-emperor, and, like the Column of Arkadios, protectively watched over the city (lines 209, 249–254). This concept of the columns as guardians of the city served as a unifying theme for Constantine: they shield the city from external enemies, natural disasters and the assaults of evil; they symbolise divine and imperial rule (explicitly at line 24). Other evidence makes it clear that the importance of the columns in the consciousness of its inhabitants was not an invention by Rhodios. The Porphyry Column of Constantine the Great, for example, was always seen as a defender of the city and given particular veneration; Constantinopolitans regularly assembled there in times of civic trouble – when threatened by earthquakes or volcanic ash, for example – and 46 of 68 ecclesiastical processions detailed in the *Book of Ceremonies* stopped there.[22] Constantine of Rhodes's account of the columns reiterates the familiar, but nevertheless significant, idea of Constantinople as a God-protected, victorious, well-guarded city ruled by a succession of triumphant emperors.

The use of the columns as a central motif in the poem also allowed Constantine to establish Constantinople as a literally high and majestic city, awe-inspiring, triumphant and magnificent. The columns are 'conspicuous', 'splendid', 'adornments'; they shine, they soar, they glorify; they are a 'joy and a glory for the whole world'.[23] Tall columns and churches made an immediate

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[21]   Constantine does not mention the pagan relics supposedly buried there such as the Palladium of Troy. On the importance of the Forum of Constantine for Constantine VII see McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 164–165.

[22]   Mango, 'Constantine's Porphyry Column'; Bauer, 'Urban Space and Ritual', 52.

[23]   See for example, lines 83–86, 164, 166, 180, 204.

visual impact in a medieval city where most buildings were not high. The fora of Constantinople were particularly significant in this regard because they were placed on hills and this ensured that the commemorative columns could be seen from afar. This, as Constantine pointed out, was the view that any traveller approaching the city gained immediately, glimpsing the towers, churches and columns of Constantinople rising into the sky; seeing these sights, that pilgrim was immediately astonished and astounded by the wonders of the city (lines 321–329 and 334–337). In lines 216–218, Constantine took his audience up to the top of the Column of Theodosios to look at the city spread out below, its length, its breadth, its greatness. Here, the poet and his audience were in a position of control over the city.[24] They commanded the view from the top of the column, and were able to see how large Constantinople was, what its physical limits were and, later in the poem (lines 249–254), what it was that the columns watched over and guarded.

The columns, however important in establishing this sense of civic pride and imperial city, were only five of the seven wonders, and only a part of the overall account of the monuments of the city. The Senate House in the Forum of Constantine was believed by the Byzantines to have been built by Constantine the Great and refounded by Justinian. It was a splendid building adorned with statues and works of art including, as Constantine described here, the statue of Athene from Lindos, and classical friezes brought from the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos. The second of these remaining two wonders was the Anemodoulion, a monumental bronze weathervane. Other works of sculpture to feature in the poem are the equestrian statues of Justinian and Theodosios, the statue of Constantine I on his column (briefly), and the friezes on the columns of Theodosios and Arkadios. Although none of these works of art, except the Anemodoulion, are wonders in their own right (though the statue of Justinian comes very close, being subsumed in the first account of the Column of Justinian, lines 36–49), each has a significant part to play in the poem.

Constantine's treatment of the statues of Justinian and Theodosios struck the same imperial notes as his account of the imperial columns. These statues represent triumphant emperors; in Theodosios's case, a victorious emperor who led his armies on the field, crushing northern barbarians, and overpowering a tyrannical usurper, possibly, depending on how the poem is dated, a thrust at Romanos Lekapenos. Justinian too was described as a monumental, awe-inspiring figure, raising his hand to halt invaders, in this case, aggressors from the

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[24]   On modes of experiencing the city, M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1988), Part III, 'Spatial Practices'.

east, invoking the power of the cross.[25] The friezes on the columns of Theodosios (and, implicitly, of Arkadios) reiterate the defeat of barbarian enemies, destroyed forever, a cheering thought for any Byzantine. However, the poet did not dwell on these glories. Constantine abruptly closed the section on the columns by saying 'this is enough' about these and about the remaining statues, including those in the theatre, the golden forum, the Strategion and the streets (lines 255–259), a curt conclusion that led Paul Speck to suggest that part of the text has been lost.[26] Although Constantine is brief, it is worth noting that the majority of statues in the streets of the city were imperial, in one form or another, and that the Strategion appears to have held a concentration of victory monuments, as any Constantinopolitan would have know; in other words, the imperial theme was not lost.[27]

The Anemodoulion and the sculptures associated with the Senate House are very different in subject matter to the imperial columns and statues. Although all owe their existence in the city to imperial patronage, they introduce an element of overt classicism in their subject matter and, probably, in their artistic style, The Anemodoulion was described by Rhodios as an imperial monument, one erected by Theodosios I, but it was a weathervane, adorned with images of animals, fruits and plants, naked erotes and personifications of the winds, an 'exceptional work of sculpture' (line 185).[28] The bronze gates of the Senate House, taken from the temple of Artemis in Ephesos, depicted a wholly pagan scene, the battle of the giants and gods. In contrast to the 'sweetly laughing' erotes of the Anemodoulion, this work of art struck fear into those who looked at it, so realistic did it seem (lines 142–146). Constantine qualified this admission

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[25]   The statue of Justinian appears in two sections of the poem; at the beginning on the column of Justinian as wonder 1 and then in a later section which appears separate from seven wonders as part of account of Hagia Sophia and its environs.

[26]   Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodos', 251–252, suggests that the first half of the poem is either part of a later, separate poem about the columns and statues of the city, or that Constantine wrote two poems, one about the columns and another about the statues. Cyril Mango (Mango, Vickers and Francis, 'The Palace of Lausus') and Marc Lauxtermann ('Constantine's City') have both suggested that Kedrenos's account of the statues in the Palace of Lausos derived from Constantine's poem, perhaps a longer and better version of the one here with more statues in it.

[27]   Mango, 'Triumphal Way', 178 and Appendix, 187–188. Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 57–58, suggests that the evidence of the *Patria* is that Basil I and Caesar Bardas removed bronze sculptures from the Strategion and that the *Book of Eparch* suggests that it was a market for livestock. Constantine's mention of it in the poem suggests that it was still a significant repository however.

[28]   For a discussion of the Anemodoulion as an eighth-century reconstruction, see B. Anderson, 'Leo III and the Anemodoulion', *BZ* 104 (2011), 41–54.

by indicating that the gate nevertheless deceived the foolish pagans and that it was brought, significantly by Constantine the Great, to Constantinople to be an object of derision for men and a toy for children.[29] Next to the gates was the beautiful bronze statue of Athena of the Lindians, helmeted and wearing the aegis. She too, however, was nothing but a deceit, sculpted by madmen in vain (lines 156, 161–162). Indeed, at this position in the text, the statue of Athena forms a neat contrast with the next monument, the Column with the Cross, a 'God-filled object of reverential awe' (line 163) with the power to chase away demons (line 171).

Constantine made a crucial distinction between these three examples of classicism. The Anemodoulion, despite its personifications and naked erotes, was not a pagan masterpiece but the work of the staunchly Christian emperor, 'great' Theodosios, a monument made in the city for the city. The poet described it approvingly.[30] The Gigantomachy and the statue of Athena were works from the pagan past, brought in to Constantinople. Although Constantine displayed a level of covert enthusiasm for them – the Gigantomachy is not described as implausible or absurd but as lifelike enough to cause terror (lines 143–146); Athena of the Lindians may be a sham but she is a 'beautiful' one (lines 153 and 156) – despite this, both were explicitly condemned. This apparent contradiction is perhaps similar to Constantine's treatment of pagan poetry, for example in his putting anacreontic poetry into the *Palatine Anthology* whilst abusing Anacreon himself as loose-living. Lauxtermann suggested that, for Constantine, the form of the poetry outweighed the content.[31] This may be true here: the form of the sculpture, described positively as beautiful, and expressed in vivid ekphrastic language, was such as to justify its inclusion. Constantine's disclaimers about folly and impiety may have been genuine and heartfelt: these are moving works of art despite being pagan. Equally, the explicit repudiations may have been necessary to avoid any accusations of pagan beliefs, a standard charge brought by Byzantine writers against their enemies, and one used by Constantine himself in his assaults on Leo Choirosphaktes.[32]

The choice of subjects and the nature of the accounts of Anemodoulion, the Gigantomachy and the statue of Athena in the poem suggest that the crucial issue for Constantine – and perhaps the Byzantines more widely – did not

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[29]   Echoing Eusebios, *Life of Constantine*, 3.54.

[30]   For Byzantine views of nudity in art see Maguire, 'The Profane Aesthetic', 189–205; Dautermann Maguire and Maguire, *Other Icons*, ch. 4. Rydén, 'The Date of the Life', 139–140, sees Constantine's account of the Anemodoulion as sitting well with that given in the *Life*.

[31]   Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*.

[32]   Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 97–99; Magdalino, 'Byzantine Courtier', 151.

concern artistic style, a distinction between 'classical' and 'Byzantine', but rather a difference between pagan and Christian art. That particular difference was not one automatically based either on style or content, as Constantine's treatment of the Anemodoulion makes clear. It is apparent from illuminations in late ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts such as the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos, the Paris Psalter and the Leo Bible that Christian art could be rendered in a classicising form.[33] In the same period, classical forms and figures such as erotes were employed in secular art, notably in ivory boxes such as the Veroli Casket, where it seems improbable that they were regarded as dangerous in the way in which Constantine portrays the Gigantomachy.[34] It was perhaps only when such figures and styles were perceived as explicitly pagan, the distinction between the imagery of the Anemodoulion and the Senate House gate, that they became potentially perilous. Elsewhere in the poem, when describing the statue of Justinian, Constantine did not make any comparisons between Justinian and Achilles, as Prokopios had done, and as was a frequent referent in the context of this statue.[35] Whilst this may imply that Constantine was unaware of the classical parallel (though, as he seems to have been aware of Prokopios's *Buildings*, that is debateable), it may also indicate a deliberate choice on his part and thus serve to underline the point that Constantine's classicising references were not gratuitous but came where he felt them to be appropriate and useful. When Constantine VII was described as the 'tree of the Muses' (line 303), Constantine of Rhodes is at pains to stress that these are the divine Solomonic muses, not those pagan ones described by 'arrogant' Homer (lines 305–310). The implication is perhaps that sordid (see line 294) pagan classical references were not appropriate for Christian emperors. This may also suggest that the short shrift given at the end of the city section to the columns and statues ('this is enough …', lines 255–263) was deliberate on Constantine's part.[36]

Before moving on to set Constantine's seven wonders into the wider setting of his picture of Constantinople, it is worth pausing to compare them to those of two other Byzantine texts that engage with the city and its monuments, the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* and the *Patria*. In the *Parastaseis*, several objects were described as 'wonders', ranging from the Xerolophos to a trench filled with bones.[37] However, in a section specifically entitled 'About spectacles', seven 'wonders' were detailed: assorted statues in the Basilica; the statue of Zeus Helios

[33]   Paris Bib. Nat. Ms. Gr. 510; Paris Bib. Nat. Ms. Gr. 139; and Vat. Reg. Gr. 1 respectively.

[34]   See Dautermann Maguire and Maguire, *Other Icons*, 160–166.

[35]   G. Downey, 'Justinian as Achilles', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 71 (1940), 68–77.

[36]   My thanks to Paul Magdalino for this suggestion.

[37]   *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, chs 20 and 25.

at the Milion; objects in the Forum (plausibly the Forum of Constantine); a statue of a dog and statues of other animals in the Artopoleion or Bread Market; a statue in the Amastrianon; the bronze ox in the Forum Bovis; and statues of emperors in the Senate.[38] The *Patria* for its part identified the Basilica, the Milion, the Forum of Constantine, the Artopoleion, the Amastrianon, the Forum Bovis, the Forum of Taurus and the Senate as marvels.[39] Interestingly, all three texts follow much the same route through the city and are based around the same sites – the Basilica (a major public building on the Mese close to the Milion and a repository for old statues), the fora, the Artopoleion – but differ in their choices within these settings. The *Parastaseis* is a text interested primarily with statues rather than buildings and its wonders reflect this; the *Patria* focuses on places; Constantine of Rhodes is concerned with columns and sculptures. But the shared itinerary through the city underlines the continuing significance of that particular route between the eighth and tenth centuries and suggests the importance of these locations in the mental maps of the inhabitants of Constantinople.

Dramatic differences are apparent in the treatment of specific monuments and statues in the three works. For example, in Constantine's poem, the Xerolophos was the last of his seven wonders, the work of Arkadios, 'in every aspect like the column of Taurus/both in its excellently drawn depictions/and in its hidden ascent', the only difference being that the two columns are in two different places (lines 241–254). Its significance is that it watches over the city. The *Parastaseis*, however, claimed that inside the Forum of the Xerolophos were 16 spiral columns, various statues and a tripod, that sacrifices of virgins also took place in the Forum and that many prophecies were given out there.[40] In a later passage, the text asserts that the Xerolophos also contained a statue of Theodosios II with Valentinian III and Marcian, destroyed by an earthquake.[41] The *Patria*'s account is close to that of the *Parastaseis*, but adds some discussion of the images sculpted on the column.[42] In the case of the statue of Theodosios in the Forum of Taurus, Constantine located it on a high point in the forum, says it is a horseman and that the column depicts Theodosios defeating barbarian Scythians.[43] The *Parastaseis* said: 'Note that the statue called Taurus (i.e. the statue in the Forum Tauri) is Theodosios the Great. It is here that the emperor

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[38] *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, chs 37–43.

[39] Discussed in Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 42.

[40] *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ch. 20.

[41] *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ch. 71. Dagron and Paramelle, 'Un texte patriographique', date this apocalyptic text to the reign of Leo VI.

[42] *Patria 2*, p. 160, line 21; p. 207, line 11.

[43] Lines 202–240.

once used to receive the leaders of barbarian peoples. It was formerly silver as Sozomen tells us' (in fact, Sozomen does not).[44] The *Patria* locates the figure on a column, but identifies it as Joshua.[45]

What is apparent from these accounts is how diverse Constantinople might appear at other times and in separate texts. Constantine's poem suggests a very different attitude to the ancient and pagan past to that of the *Parastaseis* and the *Patria*.[46] The statues of the *Parastaseis* are powerful images, sometimes with dubious pagan pasts, sometimes objects of prophecy and even malevolence, with scope to destroy and be destroyed.[47] The *Patria* echoes this perception to some extent, for both texts suggest that statues predict the future and warn of terrible things, of the end of the world. This is an attitude found later in the thirteenth century: Niketas Choniates described how people in his own day destroyed the statue of Athena mentioned by both the *Parastaseis* and by Constantine, for fear that it was inviting the Crusaders of 1204 into the city.[48] Constantine has a very different tone. A sense of the threatening or prophetic power of images is almost totally absent; his statues exalt and uphold imperial figures from the distant past for the benefit of the present and his monuments protect the city. In Constantine's account, the monuments are wondrous and timeless, they are built to withstand earthquakes and there is almost no reference to destroyed or replaced statues. Even the fire that damaged the Senate left it there, still wondrous to behold and the Holy Apostles itself is built to withstand tremors. Nevertheless, all three texts share two underlying themes, for all comment on past emperors in order to explain present imperial rule, the *Parastaseis* and the *Patria* taking a more negative tone than Constantine, and all take the attitude that the talismanic effects of columns and statues, however those properties were defined, were an appropriate concern for learned men.[49]

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[44]   *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ch. 66.

[45]   *Patria* 2, p. 176; also see Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, sections 857.15–858.5.

[46]   See the introduction to *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. Cameron and Herrin.

[47]   *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. Cameron and Herrin, 31–34.

[48]   Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, sections 558–559.

[49]   For the *Parastaseis*, see B. Anderson, 'Classified Knowledge: The Epistemology of Statuary in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*', *BMGS* 35 (2011), 1–19; according to Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, the *Patria* has a political agenda to glorify the city and debase the emperor. Also see P. Magdalino, 'Occult Science and Imperial Power in Byzantine History and Historiography (9th–12th Centuries)', in P. Magdalino and M. Mavroudi (eds), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva, 2006), 131–135, pointing out that Basil, Leo VI and Constantine VII were all concerned with the manipulation of statues.

A City of Emperors

Constantine's columns and statues served to mark out a civic geography of awe and wonder within the city, a city where monuments were more than just landmarks. However, Constantine's Constantinople was, above all, a city of emperors. It is notable, in contrast to many of the processional routes described in the *Book of Ceremonies*, that the landmarks of the city that Constantine chose to mention are not religious but secular and imperial. Of course, God and Christ were celebrated, as imperial protectors and patrons of the city (see, for example, lines 71–74 and the significance of the Cross at 163–177), but it was the great Christian rulers of the past who dominated the city as Constantine unfolded it. Of the seven wonders, all, except one, were linked explicitly by the poet to previous emperors, revealing their wisdom, piety and triumph: the statue of Justinian; the column and statue of Constantine the Great; the Senate House with its associations with Leo I and Constantine I; the Anemodoulion with Theodosios I; the column and statue of Theodosios in the Forum Tauri; the column of Arkadios in the Xerolophos. Only the Column with the Cross was not overtly associated with an emperor, though its very form alone implicitly evoked Constantine the Great.[50]

In their nature, location and attribution, the seven monuments were used by Constantine to build a picture of a very particular imperial city, one which truly was the 'city of Constantine', as the opening line of the poem, after the first dedicatory epigram, stated. The poem reveals a capital built and populated by bygone, great emperors, but emperors significant in tenth-century memories of a very specific historical past, one in which the glories of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries were paramount.[51] Of the six dead emperors who appeared in the poem, five dated to this period: Constantine the Great; Theodosios I; his son, Arkadios; Leo I; and Justinian I. The sixth ruler was Constantine VII's own father, Leo VI.

Although it has been suggested that the most important emperor in Byzantine tradition was Constantine the Great, the dominant ruler in Constantine's poem

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[50] Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 28–29 and n. 37; L. Brubaker, 'To Legitimize an Emperor: Constantine and Visual Authority in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *New Constantines* (Aldershot, 1994), 139–158. On ninth-century legendary lives of Constantine and the importance of monumental crosses in Constantinople, see Anderson, 'Classified Knowledge', 13–14. Magdalino, 'Distance of the Past', discusses the column in the context of tenth-century imperial ideology.

[51] For these themes in a broader tenth-century context, see Magdalino, 'Distance of the Past'.

was Justinian.[52] The first wonder described, 'taking pride of place throughout the city' and 'holding first rank among the wonders' (lines 41 and 48), was the column bearing the mounted statue of Justinian standing outside Hagia Sophia, a statue described at two different points in the poem.[53] Justinian himself was mentioned four times in the poem: twice with his statue; once in relation to rebuilding the church of the Holy Apostles; and finally in a panegyric in relation to Hagia Sophia and other unnamed building works throughout the city. Here, indeed, Justinian appeared as more significant than Constantine the Great himself, raising the question of whether the poet had any particular reason for praising him. He was always described as 'the great' and as 'victorious', 'mighty and noble', and his piety is emphasised.[54]

However, Constantine the Great was almost as significant a figure as Justinian in the poem. What Rhodios described as 'the especially wondrous porphyry column' (line 53) of Constantine the Great was the second-ranked marvel within the city, the monument that publically placed the city under Christ's protection and guaranteed that it would never suffer from famine. Constantine the Great appeared further as the importer of sculptures from Ephesos. He is described as 'most powerful' and 'triumphant' and 'wise' and his actions make it clear that he was also 'pious'. The city itself, even in the tenth century, was his, 'the city of Constantine'.

Of the remaining three early Byzantine emperors to feature in this section of the poem, Theodosios I appeared three times, as builder of the Anemodoulion and as the subject of his son's work setting up both the column of Theodosios and the mounted statue of Theodosios. He too was 'pious', 'godly', 'all-wise', 'a marvellous man' and, above all, a triumphant general, victorious in war. Arkadios was mentioned twice as builder of monuments commemorating his father, Theodosios I. Arkadios's own column was dismissed: 'it is like in all ways to the column of Taurus' (line 244) and Arkadios himself was only described as 'famed', and famed for honouring his father at that. Finally, Leo I made a brief appearance as Constantine described how the Senate House burnt down in the major fire during his reign.[55]

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[52]   A. Kazhdan, '"Constantin imaginaire". Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great', *B* 57 (1987), 196; also see Markopoulos, 'Constantine the Great', 159. Magdalino, 'Distance of the Past', 128, also points out the importance of Justinian.

[53]   Lines 39–51 and 364–374.

[54]   Magdalino, 'Distance of the Past', 128, has suggested that Constantine saw himself as presenting the Holy Apostles to Constantine VII as an implicit companion piece to Paul the Silentiary's account of Hagia Sophia presented to Justinian.

[55]   Though Leo's coronation forms a part of the *Book of Ceremonies*, 410.4–417.12.

However, in electing to portray these emperors as the men responsible for many of the early glories of the city, including all of his seven wonders and, in the case of Justinian, for both Hagia Sophia and the Holy Apostles, Constantine did not make a random selection. Constantine, Theodosios I, Leo I and Justinian were all known as 'the Great' to the Byzantines. All were buried in the church of the Holy Apostles.[56] All had well-established reputations as emperors with strong links with the capital and its monuments. Justinian, according to Prokopios's *Buildings*, was responsible for considerable rebuilding throughout the city. In the *Parastaseis*, Constantine dominated the record, associated with over 30 buildings or monuments; Theodosios I and Leo I were also major figures in that text. In the *Patria*, Constantine I was one of the most significant builders of churches, as was Justinian.[57] He, together with the Constantinian and Theodosian emperors were, and were remembered as, the key figures in shaping Constantinople. As Constantine of Rhodes's seven wonders made plain, the important squares and intersections of the city were marked by their buildings and monuments, creating a series of triumphant, imperial axes and keeping their memories alive.[58] Because emperors were firmly, persistently and publically visible throughout the city, both residents and visitors moved every step of their way in imperial company.[59] Constantine's poem, as it progressed through Constantinople, gave its audience that sense of the imperial presence in the urban space.

Rhodios's examples maintained tenth-century traditions of the great emperors of ancient Byzantine history. Constantine I, Leo I and Justinian appear regularly in a variety of tenth-century sources as major figures in the history of the empire. Constantine I and Justinian were seen as almost divine hero figures, both associated with imperial renewal; Leo I was regarded as pious.[60] The late ninth- or tenth-century mosaic in the south-west vestibule of Hagia Sophia

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[56]   Grierson, 'Tombs and Obits'.

[57]   For more details, see L. James, 'Building and Rebuilding: Imperial Women and Religious Foundations in Constantinople in the Fourth – Eighth Centuries', *Basilissa* 1 (2004), 50–64. For a list in the *Patria*, see G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris, 1974), 391–409. Also Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 78–97, on Constantine's role as a founder in the city Prokopios's *Buildings* serve as one-off source for Justinian's activities: Downey, 'Justinian as a Builder', 262–266.

[58]   See Bauer, 'Urban Space and Ritual', 32.

[59]   Bauer, 'Urban Space and Ritual'.

[60]   Magdalino, 'Distance of the Past', 124–125, 130–131. On Macedonian models of kingship, especially David and Constantine the Great see G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris, 1996), ch. 6, esp. 205–208. For Justinian, see G. Prinzing, 'Das Bild Justinians I. in der Überlieferung der Byzantiner vom 7. bis 15. Jahrhundert', *Fontes Minores* 7 (1986), 1–99. Leo I: C. Mango, 'The Chalkoprateia

provides a visual reflection of this (Figure 2).[61] The mosaic shows Constantine I and Justinian, both dressed in tenth-century ceremonial clothing, placing their city and their church respectively under the protection of the Mother of God and Christ. It implies that these emperors established both city and church under divine guard from the beginning of their existence; it also suggests that that security lived on in the tenth century. The mosaic offers a tenth-century reconstruction of the past, one in which the achievements of Constantine and Justinian were relevant to that tenth-century present.[62]

Figure 2 Mosaic of the Mother of God and Christ-Child between the emperors
        Justinian I and Constantine the Great

The claim that they themselves maintained the glories and traditions of these great past rulers was one regularly invoked by the Macedonian emperors and those around them. Basil I was hailed as the new Constantine; he named his eldest son and heir Constantine and on the death of that son, he revived

Annunciation and the Pre-Eternal Logos', *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias* 17 (1993–1994), 165–170.

[61]   T. Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul. 1933–4. The Mosaics of the Southern Vestibule* (Oxford, 1936).

[62]   Magdalino, 'Distance of the Past', 116.

the tradition of imperial burial in the mausoleum of Constantine the Great in the Holy Apostles.[63] Basil was also renowned for rebuilding churches founded by his imperial predecessors, above all by Constantine and Justinian, as well as for associating himself with a variety of other emperors including Theodosios I.[64] His successor, Leo VI, took a high view of the imperial office, appearing to regard the Old Testament king David as his equal, and the gift of royalty as closely connected with that of priesthood.[65] Leo also portrayed himself as the successor to Justinian in, for example, his reworking of Justinian's legal code, where he claimed to take over the roles of that emperor and even to surpass him. In turn, his son, Constantine VII, promoted the legacy of Constantine I still further, emphasising the use of the cross as a symbol and even going so far, in the *Life of Basil*, as to suggest that Basil's mother, his own great-grandmother, was descended from Constantine the Great.[66] For Constantine VII, Constantine I, Leo I and Justinian were 'those great and renowned emperors' whose traditions had been so severely neglected by the usurping Romanos Lekapenos.[67] In this Macedonian context, Constantine of Rhodes's choices of past, glorious emperors had real meaning for the sponsor of his poem, Constantine VII, invoking and upholding family tradition whether early or late in his reign.[68]

Just as the mosaic in Hagia Sophia implied that the emperor who commissioned it, whoever that was, was prefigured by Constantine I and Justinian, so too did the part of Constantine's poem depicting the columns of the city. Rhodios's emphasis on past glories was not a nostalgic yearning for the good old days. Rather, the invocation of a great past ruled by glorious emperors served to illuminate Constantinople's imperial present under Constantine VII. Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Leo VI were the most important imperial figures within the poem, the focus for all imperial references and comparisons. For Constantine of Rhodes, Leo VI was 'most famous', 'wise', and the sagacious wielder of the sceptre of Byzantium.[69] The memory of Leo was used further to

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[63] Markopoulos, 'Constantine the Great in Macedonian Historiography', 160–161; Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912)*, 52–53; Grierson, 'Tombs and Obits'.

[64] P. Magdalino, 'Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 37 (1987), 51–65.

[65] Antonopoulou, *Homilies*, 78–79.

[66] *Life of Basil*, *Theophanes Continuatus* 5, section 3, line 3, p. 215; Brubaker, 'To Legitimize an Emperor', 139–158.

[67] *Book of Ceremonies*, 606 and Magdalino, 'Distance of the Past', 125–126.

[68] A. Markopoulos, 'Byzantine History Writing at the End of the First Millennium', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden, 2003), 183–197, discusses history writing where similar themes are apparent.

[69] Lines 278–280, 419. On wisdom as an imperial quality, see S. F. Tougher, 'The Wisdom of Leo VI', in Magdalino, *New Constantines*, 171–179. Leo was celebrated for his

emphasise the legitimacy of Constantine VII as true heir of Leo. Constantine VII's birth was tainted with the slur of illegitimacy. He was born to Leo's concubine, and Leo's attempts to legitimise that relationship through marriage resulted in a major political and ecclesiastical controversy that continued into Constantine's own reign.[70] In six places out of six, Rhodios's references to Constantine VII described him as Leo's son: he is the 'scion of the purple', 'seed of my celebrated king', 'son of the most famous Leo'; Constantine VII even looked and sounded like Leo.[71] This was not flattery but a significant political statement of Constantine VII's legitimacy. As previously discussed, it is possible that Leo's considerable presence within the poem indicates an early date for these sections, delivered at a time when Leo's memory was still fresh.[72] But, at whatever time in Constantine VII's reign the poem was written, references to Leo VI would always have underscored the legitimacy of Constantine Porphyrogennetos himself and emphasised his Macedonian heritage, overriding all potential and real usurpers.

For the most significant emperor in the poem was a living one, the poet's own 'triumphant and wise master' (line 418), Constantine VII, his 'compassionate lord' (line 17), who had commanded him to write the poem and who served as the poet's inspiration (line 303).[73] Specific references to Constantine VII are made in the passages described as 'transitional': lines 1–18 (the dedication to Constantine VII); lines 276–314 (invoking Constantine VII as audience and inspiration); lines 387–422 (invoking Constantine VII again as commissioner of the poem); and lines 425–436 (the proem to the account of the Holy Apostles in which the poem is again dedicated to Constantine Porphyrogennetos). These sections are key parts of the poem, indeed, potentially among the most important parts of the poem, underlining as they do something of the motives behind the poetry. Constantine of Rhodes used a varied vocabulary of terms to address his emperor. The very first words of the poem are 'most powerful Constantine', closely followed by 'born in the purple'. The emperor was addressed as *despotes*, δεσπότης, 'lord' or 'master', a title regularly used of emperors, but one that could be – and indeed was in the poem – used of Christ. Other designations of

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wisdom during his own lifetime: Tougher, 'Wisdom of Leo', 171; Magdalino, 'The Bath of Leo the Wise', 105.

[70]   Tougher, *Reign of Leo VI*, ch. 6.

[71]   Lines 394–396.

[72]   Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City'.

[73]   Such a reading seems to me to be valid even if one accepts that the texts we have were written in the period when Constantine ruled with the Lekapenoi, and even more so if the 'four emperors' referred instead to Constantine and his family. It is Constantine alone to whom the poem is offered, Constantine alone whose faithful servant the poet was.

Constantine VII included *lord*, ἄναξ, the Homeric term for gods and heroes, rather than an official imperial title and '*Best [of men]*', φέριστος, a very unusual way to address an emperor, but one found also in the poet's account of Theodosios I.[74] The concept of the emperor as God's regent on earth was not overlooked: Constantine VII was blessed by God and supported by the Apostles, 'unfailing guides of the whole world' (lines 432, 436).

The poet also kept an imperial theme alive throughout the poem by recurring references to thrones, crowns and sceptres: that of Rome, wielded by Constantinople; that of David held by Christ.[75] Although Rhodios did not make any explicit parallels between his emperors and Old Testament kings, a popular Macedonian comparison, it is conceivable that the sceptre of David might have been understood in this way. David was used as a type for Basil I; Leo VI used both David and Solomon as referents for his ideas about kingship.[76] Perhaps then, David's sceptre was also Basil's sceptre, or even Constantine VII's.

The vocabulary of piety, wisdom, triumph, nobility and greatness that Constantine of Rhodes associated with his Late Antique emperors reflected the qualities of the Good Ruler. Constantine VII too was described as pious, godly, wise and all-powerful, and so possessed all the virtues of the righteous emperor, and also shared them with his great predecessors who were, in a way, his prototypes.[77] Whether as boy or mature man, he would surely have gained additional lustre through his association with these heroic prototypes. Although Constantine VII never campaigned actively, and indeed may have been too young at the time of the poem, the imperial virtue of military success is evoked on his behalf through the military figure of Theodosios I and, to an extent, the statue of Justinian.[78] Moreover, Constantine VII was a living presence within the poem. Constantine of Rhodes addressed the emperor personally on at least six occasions in the text. This may have been flattery, it may have been an assertion of Constantine's role as legitimate emperor, but it was also a way of maintaining the emperor as a perpetual audience for the poem: through his eternal presence,

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[74] Lines 17, 427 and 859; Theodosios as best: line 219.

[75] Sceptres clearly mattered to Constantine. In an epigram in the *Palatine Anthology* (*AP* 15. 15. 4), he describes himself as 'faithful servant of the emperor Leo'; the word used for 'emperor' is 'sceptre-bearing' and 'sceptre' is also used at line 16 of the same epigram.

[76] For Basil as David see A. Markopoulos, 'An Anonymous Laudatory Poem in Honor of Basil I', *DOP* 46 (1992), 228; for Leo's use of David and Solomon: Antonopoulou, *Homilies*, 76–79. David was also used to represent Constantine VII in art: Maguire, 'Style and Ideology', 217.

[77] For example, lines 420, 429.

[78] Markopoulos, 'Constantine the Great', 166 on the military associations made between Constantine VII and Constantine the Great.

Constantine VII remained at hand whenever and wherever the poem was read. It was no accident that Constantine chose to begin both his account of the wonders of the city and that of his description of the church of the Holy Apostles with the phrase 'the city of Constantine' (lines 18 and 438), for the city he described in the poem was the city of two Constantines: the divine founder, Constantine the Great, and 'the most powerful Constantine, scion of the purple' (line 1), Constantine VII, with whom the poem opened, and for whom Constantine was writing. The reiteration of the name 'Constantine' throughout the poem as a reference to Constantine the Great inevitably also evoked that emperor's tenth-century heir.[79]

Constantine's City

It is not difficult to see how, if completed or made public, this part of Constantine's poem relates to imperial themes important in the tenth century. Although all seven of the wonders came from the distant past, as did the sculptures, Constantine of Rhodes made them relevant to his tenth-century audience. The image of Constantinople given by Rhodios is of an imperial city filled with imposing imperial monuments keeping the memory of the great Christian emperors of the past fresh in the tenth-century present. Constantine's city was strong, powerful, mistress of the world, inheritor of Rome and the inhabited world; the monuments Constantine described were an adornment to the city and a wonder to strangers. But it was also the city of Emperor Constantine VII, whether at the start of his reign, when the poet may have wished to show the young, questionably legitimate heir of Leo as rightful successor to his father and to the great imperial champions of the past, or later, when Constantine VII may have wished to reclaim his city from the usurper, Romanos Lekapenos.[80] The seven wonders Rhodios chose to describe evoked past Christian hero-emperors in the context of tenth-century concerns with ceremony, the use of the past, imperial role models and imperial legitimacy. It has been suggested that in the seventh and eighth centuries, Constantinopolitans placed less faith in the imperial presence and more on the supernatural defenders of the city, above all

[79]   The same deliberate association of the two Constantines has been detected in the *Life of Basil*, dated by Athanasios Markopoulos to 945–949: Markopoulos, 'Constantine the Great'. Also on perceptions of Constantine the Great see Kazhdan, '"Constantin imaginaire"'.

[80]   In this context, Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 103, has seen Romanos Lekapenos as a key figure in the development of tenth-century Constantinople. Repossessing the city may therefore have been of importance to Constantine VII and his poet.

in the Mother of God.[81] In his choice of wonders and the ways in which he spoke of them, as well as in his address to Constantine VII, however, Constantine of Rhodes suggested that, by the tenth century, Constantinople was once more a city of emperors.

Constantine himself, as a Rhodian, was, by birth, a stranger to the city, one proud to maintain his Rhodian connections. Marc Lauxtermann has suggested that in this section of the poem, Constantine portrayed himself as an outsider in the city, the man who had been overwhelmed by the sight of the city from afar, who did do the 'tourist thing' and climbed the steps inside the Column of Theodosios.[82] But though once a stranger, by the time of the poem Constantine was an insider in the city, showing it off to others, selecting views for them, with control and authority over what his audience saw of the city, a knowledgeable guide, the servant of two emperors, a man for whom Constantinople had become home.[83] As Rhodios himself pointed out, that tourist ascent was 'long ago' (line 216). In this poem, Constantine displayed his delight in his adopted city and his personal sense of wonder (e.g. at lines 87, 216). In the long section dealing with the wayfarer's approach to Constantinople, lines 321–349, the poet described a man whose heart leapt at the sight of the city with its churches and columns and towers.[84] This sense of civic pride echoes throughout the poem.[85] Of course, any poet writing a panegyrical piece about a city would extol that city, but such praise cannot simply be dismissed as a topos. Other written sources make it very clear that the inhabitants of Constantinople were proud of their city, the 'queen of cities', and all that it stood for.[86] Constantine's Constantinople is a high, bright and splendid city (for example, lines 30–31), filled with lofty churches and important buildings (lines 336–338), gold-gleaming (lines 319, 342) and welcoming (line 343), inviting visitors in. Its monuments are an honour and adornment for locals and a wonder to strangers.[87]

Monuments are built for a purpose, deliberately designed to provoke memories and to function as sites for commemoration. Both monuments and

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[81]   Bauer, 'Urban Space and Ritual'.

[82]   Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City', pointing out that Constantine takes a similar standpoint in the *Palatine Anthology*.

[83]   P. Magdalino, 'Constantinople and the Outside World', in D. C. Smythe (ed.), *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider* (Aldershot, 2000), 152.

[84]   Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City', sees this section as a 'virtuoso display of literary craftsmanship'.

[85]   See, for example, lines 29–33; line 58, where Constantinople is the 'universally beloved' city; lines 260–263.

[86]   See, for example, Alexander, 'Strength of Empire', 343–344.

[87]   For example, line 85 on Constantine's Column.

memories alter over time but because social spaces are relatively stable, they offer the illusion of immutability and the chance to rediscover the past in the present.[88] Texts too affect the perception and understanding of monuments and buildings and play a role in shaping their reception. That the tenth century was a time of revived interest in general in the past of Constantinople is underlined by Constantine's poem. The monuments in this section of the poem create a very particular picture of Constantinople, one of an imperial Christian city filled with sculpture and columns and with its own glorious past, the heir of Rome. Constantine and his audience's understanding of these works of art was not that of their original founders in fourth, fifth and sixth century Constantinople. Rather, Constantine appropriated them for his own purposes. Which monuments mattered and why altered considerably over time in Constantinople as the city and its inhabitants responded to different social and political events. Rhodios's poem offers evidence of the changing imaginary geography of the tenth-century present, one in which the past was adapted to fit the memories and needs of the present. By referring to the material milieu of the city, Constantine evoked recollections and associations for his audience: the Column of Constantine, the first, the luckiest repository of relics and protector of the city, key staging post in commemorative rituals. His Constantinople was a city filled with imperial monuments, celebrating Christian imperial splendour and ceremony, one where past emperors marked out and proudly celebrated present glories.

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[88]   See S. E. Alcock, 'The Reconfiguration of Memory in the Eastern Roman Empire', in S. E. Alcock et al. (eds), *Empires. Perspectives from Archaeology and History* (Cambridge, 2001), 323–350; S. E. Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past. Landscape, Monuments and Memories* (Cambridge, 2003).

Chapter 6

The Church of the Holy Apostles: Fact and Fantasy, Descriptions and Reconstructions

The final section of the poem is the best-known and most-often discussed part of Constantine's work. Indeed lines 437–981, which form the 'description' of the church of the Holy Apostles, have often been considered as if they formed a completely separate piece of work to the rest of the poem. This is not for the reasons that relate to the literary form of the work, but because the text appears to offer the possibility of reconstructing the plan, appearance and interior decoration of the church.

This chapter will look at the debates concerning the reconstruction of the church but its focus will lie with what Constantine actually says and with a consideration of what this part of the poem might have been intended to achieve. I will suggest that the poem was not written as a 'description' of the church but that, like the section on columns and statues, it had particular foci and functions and that it is these that colour Constantine's account of the church, its architecture and its mosaics.

The Holy Apostles: Form and Founder

Byzantine written sources make it clear that the church of the Holy Apostles, the burial place of emperors, was one of the most important churches in Constantinople after Hagia Sophia, and a building that seems to have served as a model for other churches dedicated to the Apostles, both Byzantine and Western.[1] However, the church was destroyed after the conquest of the city by the Ottomans in 1453; almost nothing remains of it and even its site is uncertain.[2]

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[1]   For a full account of the church, gathering together a very wide range of Byzantine sources, though not Constantine of Rhodes, see Janin, Ἀπόστολοι (Ἅγιοι)', in *La géographie ecclésiastique*, 46–55.

[2]   For a long time, it was believed that the Fatih mosque was built on top of the site of the Holy Apostles: Wulzinger, 'Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel',

As a result, Constantine's poem sits alongside Prokopios's sixth-century report of Justinian's rebuilding of the church and the long twelfth-century prose description of Nikolaos Mesarites, together with sundry briefer references in a variety of Byzantine textual sources, as the only evidence for the appearance of the building.[3]

The various accounts raise a couple of essential issues about the history and form of the church. To begin with, there is considerable debate over the original foundation and founder of the building. Byzantine texts record two different builders: either Constantine the Great; or his son, Constantius.[4] Eusebios, in the *Life of Constantine*, asserted that Constantine the Great founded the church and had his own coffin placed in the middle of 12 repositories of the apostles, a statement repeated by fifth-century historians including Sokrates and Sozomen.[5] However, Prokopios, in the tradition of the fifth-century historian Philostorgios, claimed that the church was founded by Constantius and that Constantius left no intimation that there were any important relics within the church. Rather, it was left to Justinian in his major sixth-century rebuilding to rediscover and identify these remains.[6] As a result, scholars have been divided and able to argue the case either way, depending on the value they place on Eusebios's text. The issue is further complicated by the church also

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1–39. Now, it is more widely accepted that this may not have been the case. See Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 520, and Berger, 'Streets and Public Spaces', 168–170; Mango, 'Triumphal Way', 169; K. Dark and F. Özgümüş, 'New Evidence for the Byzantine Church of the Holy Apostles from Fatih Camii, Istanbul', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21 (2002), 393-413, though Cyril Mango in the 'Addenda Altera' to the third edition of his *Le développement urbain*, 76, is not persuaded by this evidence.

[3]   Prokopios, *Buildings*, 1.4.9–24; Mesarites, *Description*, 859–918. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, gives details of other textual references.

[4]   See the discussions of Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, the first to collect together the written sources, architectural parallels and manuscript examples; Downey, 'The Builder of the Original Church'; Krautheimer, 'On Constantine's Church of the Apostles in Constantinople', 27–34; R. Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus. Die Verchristlichung der imperialen Repräsentation unter Dem Grossen als Spiegel seiner Kirchenpolitik und seines Selbstverständnisses als christlicher Kaiser* (Berlin and New York, 1992), 93–120.

[5]   Eusebios, *Life of Constantine*, 4, 58–60, trans. and commentary Averil M. Cameron and S. G. Hall, *Eusebius. 'Life of Constantine'* (Oxford, 1999), 176–177 and 337–338. Downey, 'The Builder of the Original Church', 53, gives details of other sources favouring Constantine.

[6]   Procopios, *Buildings*, 1, iv, 9–24. Downey, 'The Builder of the Original Church', 54–55, for other pro-Constantius sources. On Constantius and the Holy Apostles, see N. Henck, 'Constantius ὁ Φιλοκτίστης', *DOP* 55 (2001), 289–291. On Justinian's Holy Apostles, see C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit: architektonische und quellenkritische Untersuchungen* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 130–147.

being described as the site of Constantine's mausoleum and the lack of clarity over this: was the mausoleum in the church or was it a separate building?[7] What is clear, however, is that two traditions existed for the foundation of the church and that it is reasonable to assume that both Constantine I and Constantius had some connection with the building.

The form of this first church is also unclear. Eusebios's account gives little away beyond extolling the size of the building and the beauty of the decorations. A poem written around 380 by Gregory of Nazianzos described the church as stretching in four directions and having cruciform sides. John Chrysostom seems to make it clear that the church and the mausoleum were, at least by the very late fourth century, two separate buildings.[8] Architectural historians, notably Richard Krautheimer, have suggested that the physical evidence provided by other fourth-century churches dedicated to the Apostles, such as that in Milan, and by the original church of St John in Ephesos, establishes that the Constantinopolitan church must have had a cross-plan. Since these other churches are built to a cross-shape, the Holy Apostles as the first and most important church dedicated to the Apostles must have influenced their plans.[9]

Constantine of Rhodes's poem offers no information about the form of the Constantinian church; it is concerned with the tenth-century building which was, in his view, that constructed by Justinian.[10] However, in terms of the founder, Constantine says, in agreement with Prokopios, that it was Constantius who founded the church and that it was he who placed in it the relics of Andrew, Luke, Timothy and Artemios (lines 477, 481–485). Nevertheless, both of the original editors of the poem, Legrand and Beglery, emended 'Constantius' to

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[7]   Downey, 'The Builder of the Original Church', argued very strongly for Eusebios's account being a later interpolation. Mango attempted to reconcile matters by suggesting that by the end of the fourth century, there were two key elements to the church complex, a cruciform basilica and a separate but adjacent mausoleum, Constantine being responsible for the mausoleum but not the basilica: Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum', 51–62. Johnson, *Roman Imperial Mausoleum*, 119–129, offers a clear synopsis and interpretation of sources with possible plans.

[8]   Gregory of Nazianzos, *Carmen de Insomnia Anastasiae*, vv 59–60, PG 37, 1258; also Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus*, 100-101; John Chrysostom, *Homilia contra Judaeos et Gentiles* 9, PG 48, col. 825. See also Johnson, *Roman Imperial Mausoleum*, 122.

[9]   Krautheimer, 'On Constantine's Church'. Such an argument assumes a highly structured form of architectural development; it is also surprising that Eusebios did not mention this detail with its very obvious symbolism.

[10]   Constantine does not mention the tradition, found in the *Patria*, 4, 32, p. 286, line 20 and in Downey, Nikolaos Mesarites, *Description*, ch. 1, that Theodora was the prime mover in rebuilding the church.

'Constantine' in their versions of the text.[11] Glanville Downey, who examined a photocopy of the manuscript, argued that the word was clearly 'Constantius' rather than 'Constantine'.[12] In this new edition of the text, Ioannis Vassis is certain that the manuscript reads 'Constantius'. Of course, this is not totally conclusive proof of what Constantine of Rhodes wrote. The surviving manuscript of the poem dates to the fifteenth century; it is conceivable that 'Constantius' could have been an emendation to Constantine's text at any point between the tenth and fifteenth centuries.

That Justinian rebuilt the church is unproblematic; Prokopios's connection of the two is found in a variety of post-sixth century sources and there is no conflicting tradition. Later sources, in brief mentions, suggest later renovations. Theophanes, writing in the ninth century, recorded that Justin II adorned both the Holy Apostles and Hagia Sophia, though his account gives no details of the decoration.[13] The *Life of Basil*, dating to the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, claimed that Basil I strengthened the church and cleaned it up: 'Likewise the famous great church of the Holy Apostles, which had lost its former beauty and firmness, he [Basil] fortified by the addition of buttresses and the reconstruction of broken parts, and having scraped off the signs of old age and removed the wrinkles, he made it once more beautiful and new.'[14] However, neither Justin II nor Basil I are mentioned in Constantine of Rhodes's poem. For Constantine, Justinian is the great rebuilder of the church and it is Justinian's church that he describes.

All of this matters because from the late nineteenth century, scholars have used Constantine's text as a part of their debates about imperial foundations, the form of churches dedicated to the Apostles, the nature of mosaic decoration and artistic practice in Byzantium and, above all, the reconstruction of this specific building. The poem takes its place as the tenth-century record of the structure and appearance of the Holy Apostles, one to be compared back to Prokopios's and forward to Nikolaos Mesarites's twelfth-century accounts. One of the primary concerns of scholars in the early twentieth century was to decide how

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[11]   Legrand, 'Description'; Begleri, *Chram*.

[12]   Downey, 'The Builder of the Original Church', 55 and n. 8.

[13]   Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6058 (565 AD). V. N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 66, claims that the images introduced to the church by Justin II related to the two natures of Christ and Christological disputes. As Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 124, n. 4, points out, the phrasing is too vague to make a case for Justin's additions being pictorial.

[14]   *Life of Basil, Theophanes Continuatus*, 5.80, lines 1–3, p. 323. The translation is from Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 192. As Maguire, 'Truth and Convention', 122, noted, 'scraped off its old age' is a reference to *Iliad* 9, 445.

much of what Mesarites described related to the sixth-century church and how much to the twelfth. Were there also periods of rebuilding and of redecoration between the tenth and twelfth centuries? Mesarites's text is by far the longest of the three and, almost as a result of its greater detail, has tended to form the basis of scholarly debates about the Holy Apostles. Prokopios is perceived as providing definitive evidence of the sixth-century church and Constantine's poem is widely – and rightly in my view – accepted as describing the same architectural form of the church that Prokopios did. However, less convincingly, scholars have also taken it to be the least accurate of the three sources.[15]

Prokopios described the church as having the form of a cross, with equal arms north and south and a longer western arm.[16] This plan was defined on the outside by walls and on the inside by rows of columns standing above one another, hinting at a gallery. The four arms of the building were surmounted by domes, as was the central space. This central dome, so Prokopios noted, had, alone of all the domes, a drum pierced with windows so that so it appeared to float on air. The church also had the sanctuary and therefore the altar in the centre of the crossing, under the central dome. Prokopios also claimed that Justinian was responsible for the rediscovery and reburial of the relics of Andrew, Luke and Timothy within the building.

Constantine of Rhodes's account of the church describes many of the same features and it is possible that he knew Prokopios's text, if his reference to 'writers of prose' (line 552) can be taken to mean that author. Constantine stated explicitly that the Holy Apostles was cross-shaped (line 576) and that it had five domes (lines 458–459; 503; 626–630), of which the central dome was the highest (line 626). He described the church as a five-pointed star in the form of a cross (lines 458–459) and a 'five-roofed sphere-composed' building (line 503). This cruciform building with five domes on five vaults is very like that described by Prokopios. Constantine too suggested that the plan of the church was defined by double rows of columns on the inside (lines 692, 700–711), that there was a gallery (lines 577–581, 720–724 by implication and 747), and he recorded the relics of the same three Apostles. However, because he did not mention the central apse and the windows in the central dome and because he implied (lines 602–604) that the cross-arms were of equal length, suggestions have been made either that the church had undergone modifications or that his account was inaccurate. Constantine's version also contained details that Prokopios's did not. He identified the architect as either Anthemios or Isidoros

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[15]   On the mosaics, see Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, vol. 2; N. Malickij, 'Remarques sur la date des mosaïques de l'église des Saints-Apôtres à Constantinople décrites par Mesaritès', *B* 3 (1926), 125–151.

[16]   Prokopios, *Buildings*, 1.4, 9–24.

the Younger, the architects of Justinian's Hagia Sophia (lines 550, 640). He described how this architect laid out a plan of four sides from one mid-point, like a cross (lines 545–569), with four central piers at the crossing of the church, supporting a central dome and the vaults (lines 562–566). The central middle dome had an image of Christ (lines 629–630 and 736) and the whole church was decorated with lavish marble revetments, carvings and mosaic.

Mesarites's narrative has fewer details than those of either Prokopios or Constantine about the form of the church. He described the church as a building raised on five stoas or colonnades completed with perfect hemispheres. Four of these domes were laid in the form of a cross and one stood taller above them; in this one was a mosaic of Christ Pantokrator. Despite scholarly suggestions to the contrary, Mesarites gave no overt details about the windows of the church.[17]

All in all, however, all three accounts offer no more detail of the Holy Apostles than that it had a cross-shaped plan, perhaps of even arms, with five domes, of which the central dome with its windows was the highest, and that it possessed vaulting and galleries. Nevertheless, reconstructions of the church illustrate how quite different ideas of the appearance and especially the interior lay-out of the Holy Apostles can be derived from the very limited evidence available. Figures 3 and 4 offer a range of the reconstructions (Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 4.1), together with the ground plans of St John at Ephesos and of San Marco in Venice, both of which are said to share the form of the Holy Apostles (Figures 4.2 and 4.3). Reinach's plan (Figure 3.1), based most heavily on Constantine's description, shows a building with four equal arms, four domes above each arm and one dome in the centre. Inside this church, a 'stoa', to use Reinach's term, of 48 columns (as recorded by Constantine) runs round the insider perimeter of the church, thereby making 'another house within' (lines 706–707). The north and south arms of the cross end in curved apses, possibly a reflection of line 580 of the 'dome cut in two like a crest', as there does not seem to be any other justification in the poem for this feature. Twenty piers support the domes, which are also held up by 16 columns each, 64 further columns. Heisenberg was determined that the church was sixth century and this affected his reading of Constantine, whom he tended to see as inaccurate and uninformative in comparison to Mesarites. Heisenberg (Figure 3.3) used a combination of both authors in his reconstruction. This shares Reinach's basic shape, but has abandoned the apses of the north and south arms and has adjusted the location of the columns and

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17   Mesarites, *Description*, ch. 13, 3–6. A. W. Epstein, 'The Rebuilding and Redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: A Reconsideration', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 23 (1982), 79–92, 87, suggested that it is conceivable that Mesarites hinted at fenestration in the central dome in his account of the Pantokrator; I am not convinced that he made any such suggestion.

piers. Heisenberg placed only one set of 48 columns in his plan. Both Reinach and Heisenberg took a very technical view of Constantine's description, seeing, for example, the word *gonia*, γωνία ('angle') as a precise architectural term referring to the foundations of the piers at the four corners of the central hall and using this in different ways in their reconstructions.[18]

In contrast, Wulff (Figure 3.2) who, on the basis of a careful linguistic study felt that Constantine was a reliable and informative source, produced a plan close to that of Heisenberg, adding in suggestions as to the vaulting between the domes and extending the west end to take in a narthex, drawn from both Prokopios and from St John at Ephesos. In his reconstruction, *gonia* described the four angles of the square central space, a less technical and more common use of the word, and a view with which Glanville Downey later agreed.[19] Soteriou's plan (Figure 4.1) has the 48 columns grouped in fours between the groups of 48 piers also placed in fours, rendering the 'church within the church' less easy to follow. Indeed, Soteriou suggested that Constantine had not counted the columns of the church himself but rather had an ideal theoretical scheme which he was describing.[20] The most recent plan, that of Dark and Özgümüş, replicates the forms of St John of Ephesos and of San Marco, Venice and, like both of those churches but unlike the other reconstructions cited here, includes a protruding apse at the east end.[21] In all of these reconstructions, the location of the mausolea of Constantine the Great and Justinian (not mentioned by Constantine of Rhodes) remains problematic.

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[18]   Reinach, 'Commentaire', 95, and Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, vol. 2, 123, both based on Diodorus Siculus's use of the term.

[19]   Downey, 'Architectural Terms', 29; Wulff, 'Die sieben Wunder', 322. For further discussions of restorations, see Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite*, 132–134 and Angelidi, "Η περιγραφή', 115–116. As Downey, 'St Theophano', 302, and Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite*, 138, n. 590 make clear, the *Book of Ceremonies* also offers more detail about the form of the Holy Apostles, detail rarely taken into account by those reconstructing the church.

[20]   Soteriou, "Ανασκαφαί'.

[21]   See also Janin's comments on the reconstructions: *La géographie ecclésiastique*, 52. Dark and Özgümüş, 'New Evidence', 410.
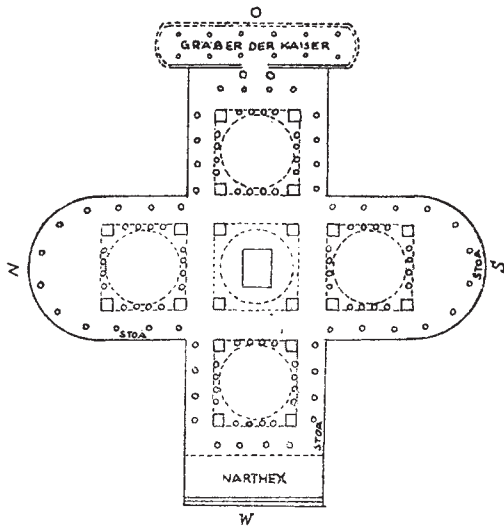
3.1 Reinach's Holy Apostles (1896).
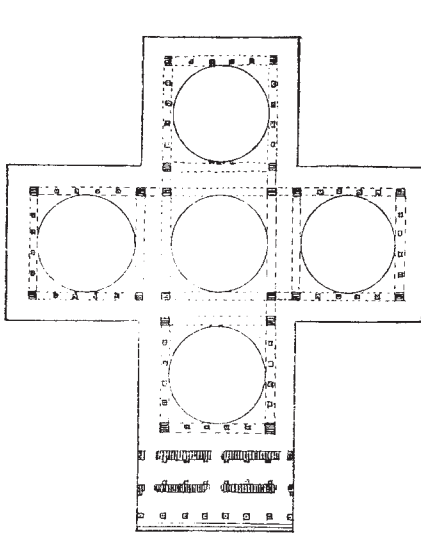
3.2 Wulff's Holy Apostles (1898).
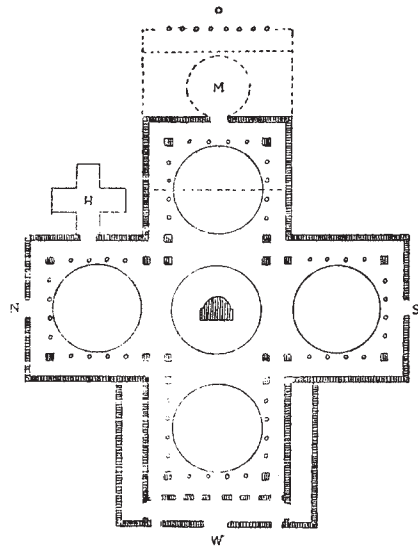
3.3 Heisenberg's Holy Apostles (1908).

Figure 3 Reconstructions of the Church of the Holy Apostles
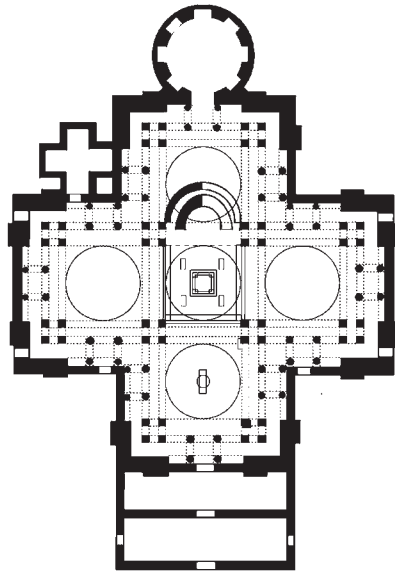
4.1 Soteriou's Holy Apostles (1921-22).
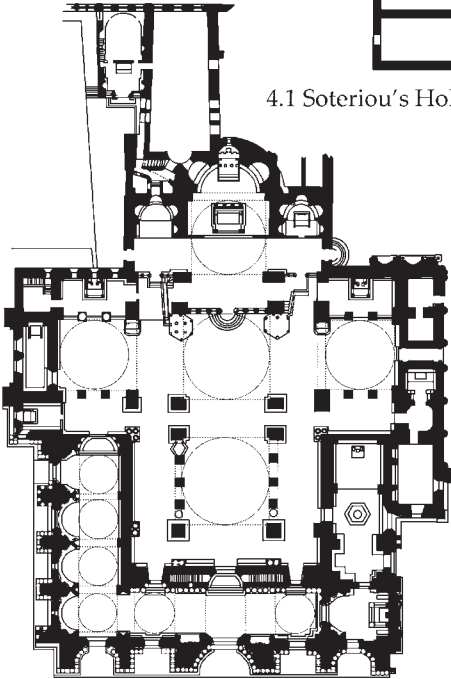
4.2 San Marco in Venice.
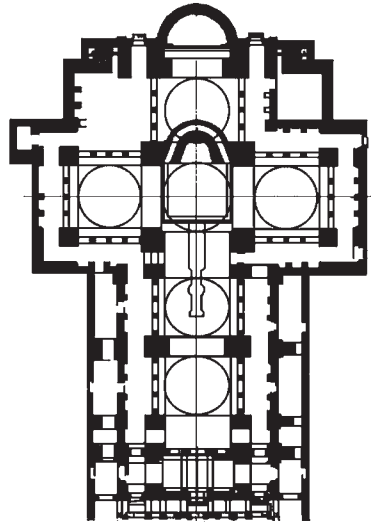
4.3 St John in Ephesos.

Figure 4 Reconstructions and comparators of the church of the Holy Apostles

Otto Demus, in the context of the mosaic decoration of the church and its similarities with San Marco, considered the internal architectural form of the building in more detail. He raised the question of whether the main cross-shaped space was enclosed by tympana-shaped fenestrated walls that rose above and continued the two-storeyed arcades, as happens in the side walls of Hagia Sophia, or whether this space extended to the outer walls with the upper arcades free-standing and forming a sort of screen, as is the case in San Marco.[22] Wulff, Soteriou and later Wulzinger interpreted Constantine's lines 720–724, describing the columns supporting the roof of the colonnade and the rose-coloured columns above them, as referring specifically to the vaults of the cross arms, and thus as implying the first model.[23] Demus, based on arguments made by Paul Underwood, argued that these lines refer to the arcades of the ground floor carrying the vaults of the aisles, that the rose-coloured columns were not described as supporting anything and therefore that the upper colonnade was only a sort of screen. In fact, Constantine is not at all specific and his account leaves it open. More generally, drawing arguments from silence assumes that the author must have put in every last detail and that seems to me a very dubious proposition, especially in a Byzantine text.

Richard Krautheimer built on this earlier work to present what has been perhaps the most influential version of the architectural history of the church.[24] Krautheimer believed that the church described by Constantine of Rhodes was that built by Justinian. However, he argued that the differences in the accounts of Constantine and Mesarites, notably over the fenestration or lack of in the domes, indicated a rebuilding of the church between 940 (his dating of Constantine's poem) and 989 (the illumination of the *Menologion* of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613). It was at this time that the four unfenestrated drums of the four domes described by Prokopios and, Krautheimer claimed, by Constantine of Rhodes, were converted into the windowed drums depicted in the image of a five-domed church in the *Menologion* and recorded by Mesarites. Krautheimer proposed that three scenes in the *Menologion* of Basil II showed the Holy Apostles. These images show the martyrdom of Timothy and the translation of his relics (fol. 341r), the reception of the relics of John Chrysostom (fol. 353r), and the burial of St Luke (fol. 121r). As the building depicted in each is shown with one tall windowed dome and four low, fenestrated domes, it must be the Holy Apostles as that church was so intimately connected with the relics

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[22]   Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, vol. 1, 366, n. 7 to p. 232.

[23]   Wulff, 'Die sieben Wunder'; Soteriou, Ἀνασκαφαί'; Wulzinger, 'Die Apostelkirche'.

[24]   R. Krautheimer, 'A Note on Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople', in Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, 197–201.

of these three saints. Krautheimer also maintained that the Holy Apostles was the building depicted in the two twelfth-century manuscripts of the *Homilies* of James Kokkinobaphos.[25] In both of these illuminations, a five-domed structure is shown, with the central dome higher than those around it; all five domes appear to have windows.[26] On the basis of these architectural features, the building must again be the Holy Apostles; as for other architectural features that did not match or were not present, these were shifted, as was conventional practice, to fit the composition. Finally, Krautheimer maintained that the churches of St John at Ephesos and San Marco, in particular the latter, indicate both the ground plan of the Holy Apostles and its superstructure. San Marco has a cross plan, bays, colonnaded aisles and five domes, all lit with large windows. All of this made it clear to Krautheimer that the unwindowed domes of the Holy Apostles described by Prokopios and Constantine had been modified by the time Mesarites came to describe the church and that this modification fell into the late tenth century.

However, Ann Wharton Epstein highlighted the problems inherent in Krautheimer's hypothetical period of reconstruction.[27] Although she agreed with Krautheimer that both Prokopios and Constantine of Rhodes appeared to mention the central dome as raised and having windows in the drum, she argued, against Krautheimer's reading, that Mesarites' account did not make it at all clear whether the central dome was raised and lit or not. Consequently, she suggested that there was no Byzantine textual evidence for the architectural changes that Krautheimer proposed. Indeed, it is worth noting that Constantine's account says nothing about the fenestration of the church, though a lack of references to windows throughout the poem is unlikely to mean that the Holy Apostles was a windowless building.

Epstein noted that in all three *Menologion* illuminations, one or more of the drums do not have windows, arguing that this raises problems in identifying the building as the Holy Apostles, if only because actually, we have no idea whether or not the four lesser domes were fenestrated. She also pointed out that it was a commonplace within manuscript studies that manuscripts were

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[25]   Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 2ʳ and Paris, B.N. Gr. 1208, fol. 2v. as, for example, Heisenberg had before him.

[26]   Dark and Özgümüş, 'New Evidence' also look to the same images in the *Menologion* and the *Homilies* of James Kokkinobaphos as representations of the Holy Apostles, suggesting that may show the atrium and columns of mottled green, though, as they acknowledge, this could be artistic licence.

[27]   Epstein, 'Rebuilding and Redecoration'. In the long note 7 to p. 232 of *Mosaics of San Marco*, 366, Demus asserts that Prokopios, Constantine and Mesarites all describe the same church.

themselves copied from earlier models, and that consequently, the illuminators of both the *Menologion* and the *Homilies* need not have been drawing from life. As Krautheimer himself had said, it is not the case in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts that depictions of buildings were ever architecturally precise and accurate: the Byzantine painter 'does not represent a building analytically... [H]e selects...a few features he considers essential in the structure to be represented and he reshuffles them so as to fit narrative and composition'.[28] Quite how the scholar identifies those features and that reorganisation appears to be a matter of speculation. The domes and the windows in the manuscripts in question might be essential features; they might also represent an architectural restructuring. The building in the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts might be a representation of the Holy Apostles without being an accurate depiction of the church. It might even be an anonymous composite building featuring symbolic architecture, an architectural fantasia.

Epstein also questioned what it might have meant in the Middle Ages to describe one building as 'modelled' on another: how closely did a building need to follow the original paradigm still to be perceived as derived from it? She argued that the fact that San Marco possessed domes on windowed drums does not prove that the Holy Apostles also shared this feature; the sharing of five domes might have been enough for the two buildings to be seen as like. Indeed, Epstein suggested that other Byzantine churches might have been modelled on the Holy Apostles, including the cathedral of San Sabino in Canosa with its five windowless domes. This church is dated to the mid-eleventh century: before San Marco but after Krautheimer's suggested date of reconstruction of the Holy Apostles.

In some ways, the use of St John at Ephesos (Figure 4.2) and San Marco in Venice (Figure 4.3) in reconstructions of the Holy Apostles is misleading.[29] The former comparison is relevant because of Prokopios's claim that the church of St John at Ephesos was built on the model of the Apostles, but exactly how close a model is uncertain. It is said that excavations at Ephesos confirm the similarities between the two churches, though St John has six domes and the similarities often appear to be based on the way in which the Holy Apostles is reconstructed.[30] The comparison between San Marco and the Holy Apostles is also problematic. The

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28   Krautheimer, 'Justinian's Church', 198–199.

29   Wulff, 'Die sieben Wunder'; Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, vol. 2, 132. See the summary in T. Papacostas, 'The Medieval Progeny of the Holy Apostles. Trails of Architectural Imitation across the Mediterranean', in P. Stephenson (ed.), *The Byzantine World* (London, 2010), 386–388.

30   Thus H. B. Dewing's Loeb text and translation of the *Buildings* uses the plan of St John to illustrate the Holy Apostles: *Buildings*, 47 and 49. For St John, see A. Thiel, *Die Johanneskirche in Ephesos* (Wiesbaden, 2005).

first surviving explicit reference to the claim is late in the history of San Marco: an early twelfth-century Venetian source.[31] Krautheimer and Demus both argued that the original founders of San Marco in the ninth century had the plan of the Holy Apostles in mind, though Demus also highlighted 'differences' between the two buildings.[32] Megaw added further support to the idea that it was the ninth-century San Marco that derived from the Holy Apostles, arguing that, in political terms, the ninth century was a better time than the eleventh for the Venetians to borrow Byzantine models.[33] If this is so, since it is very unclear both what the original ninth-century church of San Marco looked like and how far the current eleventh-century church is based on that church, it would appear that comparisons between two largely lost buildings in a bid to establish the architectural form of both are somewhat optimistic.[34] Further, as Krautheimer himself pointed out, for a medieval church to be described as a 'copy' it needed to share only a very few features of its original, making its use to reconstruct that original problematic. Megaw also noted that the tradition that an Apostle's church should be cruciform had been current in Italy since the time of Ambrose in the fourth century and it is conceivable that San Marco owed its plan in reality as much to Italian church design as to Byzantine. San Marco is a five-domed basilica church; the Holy Apostles was a five-domed church. The comparison may go no further than that and it may well be that it was a claim founded as much on Venice's political aspirations in the twelfth century and the superficial similarities between the two buildings as it was on detailed architectural intention, planning and knowledge.

Further, in response to Krautheimer's suggestion of a period of reconstruction between 940 and 989, it needs to be noted that 940 as the date of Constantine's poem is, as discussed elsewhere in this book, contentious. However, these

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[31]   Quoted and discussed by Papacostas, 'Medieval Progeny', 386–389.

[32]   O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, DC, 1960), 64; Demus, *Mosaics of San Marco*, vol. 1, 232–243; also see Demus's detailed remarks in n. 7 in this section, 364–366; R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1965), 285. Evidence for the first church of San Marco and its links with the Holy Apostles was offered by J. Warren, 'The First Church of San Marco in Venice', *The Antiquaries Journal* 70 (1990), 327–359, challenged by R. Mainstone, 'The First and Second Churches of San Marco Reconsidered', *The Antiquaries Journal* 71 (1991), 123–137, and reviewed by A. H. S. Megaw, 'Reflections on the Original Form of St Mark's in Venice', in C. L. Striker (ed.), *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer* (Mainz, 1996), 107–110, who concluded that Krautheimer and Demus were correct to see the first church as modelled on the Holy Apostles.

[33]   Megaw, 'Reflections'; Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 68 and n. 27.

[34]   On this theme, and also for other churches that might have shared the plan of the Holy Apostles, see Ousterhout, 'Reconstructing Ninth-Century Constantinople'.

debates about the Holy Apostles demonstrate how attitudes to Byzantine written sources have changed. Much of the argument has hung on almost implicit assumptions about which source to credit as the most veracious and accurate and which author to see as the least trustworthy. For Krautheimer, Prokopios was essentially an honest narrator and therefore his account was to be accepted in every detail; Mesarites was similarly reliable. In contrast, he appears to have placed less faith in Constantine. Current trends are inclined towards an acceptance that Byzantine written texts are never simply descriptive in their accounts of art and architecture, that what an author records is always deliberately chosen for a purpose.[35] Since Krautheimer wrote, a great deal of work has been done in establishing the political, propaganda and literary elements present in Prokopios's writings, including the *Buildings*, revealing it to be a more complex and potentially less 'accurate' text than previously believed.[36] In considering Prokopios's account of the Holy Apostles, for example, it is worth reflecting on its location within the *Buildings*. It is not described immediately after Hagia Sophia, but comes after Hagia Eirene and the churches dedicated to the Mother of God, St Anne, St Zoe, the Archangel Michael, Sts Peter and Paul and Sts Sergios and Bakchos, in other words, some way down the pecking order. How well Prokopios knew the church is unknown and there is no reason to suppose that he offered an accurate record, as we would understand that term, as opposed to a general sense of Justinian's work. Just as images cannot be seen as objective depictions, so too texts display levels of subjectivity.

Constantine's Church

It is true to say that the use of Constantine by those seeking to reconstruct the Holy Apostles has been influenced by agenda beyond an interest in his account for its own sake or a consideration of what Rhodios's own motives might have been. What then of Constantine's account?

Although it is inevitable that written texts are used to understand more about buildings and monuments, we need also to be very conscious that this was not their primary purpose. Constantine of Rhodes's poem is not a work

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[35]   R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, 'The Architecture of Ekphrasis: The Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's Poem on Hagia Sophia', *BMGS* 12 (1988), 47–82; James and Webb, '"To Understand Ultimate Things"'; R. Webb, 'The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor and Motion in *Ekphraseis* of Church Buildings', *DOP* 53 (1999), 59–74.

[36]   A. M. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985); J. Elsner, 'The Rhetoric of Buildings in the *De Aedificiis* of Procopius', in L. James (ed.), *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture* (Cambridge, 2007), 33–57.

that set out to record what the church of the Holy Apostles looked like for the benefit of future audiences who might wish to reconstruct the building. To seek to assess Constantine's 'accuracy' in comparison to that of Prokopios or Mesarites is to overlook the roles of the three texts as three diverse literary works with different functions. As already discussed, Constantine's text must have started life as a poem for oral delivery to an audience already familiar, to varying extents, with the building. As it survives, as a written text, it engages with the rules and conventions of Byzantine poetic and rhetorical composition in order to talk about a fascinatingly complex subject, a church, laden with significance in both form and function. Ekphraseis were not written to give an objective description of the subject under discussion. Rather, ekphrasis, as a rhetorical technique, served to bring to its audience a vivid depiction of whatever was under consideration, and to emphasise perceptual understanding and spiritual realities.[37] Its audience did not expect architectural exactitude and detail; instead, the conventions of Byzantine literature led them to anticipate a vivid rendition of the church that highlighted certain features and omitted others for the purposes of the poem and its aims, a text that selected, ordered and presented material in a deliberate way to offer a commentary on and around the building, often for an audience that knew that building. Such portrayals were not objective descriptions of the edifice but representations of it. In seeking to create a verbal equivalent to the church and to convey something of its spiritual significance, Constantine's composition is some way from the formal account of what was there that scholars have wished for. Instead, it offers a vivid amplification of the church and its significance.

Even the most impartial account of a building or object will involve the picking out of some features and the omitting of others. In choosing those details, authors will inevitably impose a linear unfolding and ordering of material on their audiences.[38] Any account of a building involves translating material that is perceived simultaneously by the viewer into a sequential account; this influences the structure of the narrative. In the case of Paul the Silentiary's account of Hagia Sophia, Ruth Macrides and Paul Magdalino have shown that the poem progresses through the church in a variety of ways, west to east, up and down.[39] Similarly, in the homilies by Photios on the Pharos church, and Leo VI on the church of Stylianos Zaoutzes and the Kauleas, there is a sense of *periegesis*, of

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[37] James and Webb, '"To Understand Ultimate Things"'; Ousterhout, 'Reconstructing Ninth-Century Constantinople'. Also see G. Dagron, *Décrire et peindre. Essai sur le portrait iconique* (Paris, 2007), 83-109.

[38] Webb, 'The Aesthetics of Sacred Space', 59–60.

[39] Macrides and Magdalino, 'The Architecture of Ekphrasis'.

moving through the building.[40] Constantine adapted this model of progression but also continually disrupted it.

Constantine opened his account from a distance and moved inwards. He began by locating the church within the city: on the fourth hill of the city, the highest and most prominent of the hills, and in the middle of the city (lines 437–454), a site planned for it from the beginning of time (lines 440–441). In fact, the fourth hill was not the highest and, when the church was founded in the fourth century, it was not in the middle of the city; but this is not the point. As Christine Angelidi has suggested, Constantine's emphasis on the height and location of the church was deliberate.[41] On a very basic level, it highlighted the importance and visibility of the building located on a site marked out for it by God. Its construction was thus part of the divine plan from the creation of the world. Angelidi went so far as to suggest that this created a sense of the church as built on a 'cosmic mountain', a part of the foundations of the world. Further, in a poem heavily concerned with numerology, in terms of the construction of Constantine's poem, the church's location on the central fourth hill may echo the column with the cross, located fourth among the city wonders.[42] The feeling of the divine nature of the building was maintained by its bearing the forms of a five-pointed star and of the cross (lines 458–459, 462); Constantine underlined the significance of the shape of the cross as Christ's sceptre and the sign of mortal salvation (lines 465–471). Its size mattered: the church was the 'mightiest' and 'most visible', 'very broad' (lines 455, 456, 461). In this opening passage, the church was associated only with God and the Apostles, not with mere mortals, thus revealing it as a fore-ordained building 'not made with hands', evocative of the buildings of the New Jerusalem, another a city built on a hill.

From having established the church as a divinely-ordered construction (and thus also associating its builders with carrying out the will of God), Constantine disturbed the progress of his narrative by moving away from the actual structure to backtrack in time and remind his audience of the original foundation and interment of relics by Constantius, piously carrying out the will of God. Rhodios then moved to the great transformation carried out by the mighty Justinian, the greatest mortal work of all time. However, the extravagance of the praise both here and in the earlier encomium of Justinian (lines 375–381) is not picked up in the actual description of the Holy Apostles, where the design of the building is not attributed to Justinian's own genius or special relationship with God, but to the initiative of the architect, be that Anthemios or Isidore, who consequently

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[40]   Prokopios, *Buildings* 1,1, 20–78; Paul the Silentiary, ed. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*; Photios, *Homily* 10; Leo VI, *Homilies* 28 and 34.

[41]   Angelidi, "Ἡ περιγραφή'.

[42]   A suggestion I owe to Paul Magdalino.

appears in a much less subordinate role than in Prokopios's or Paul the Silentiary's descriptions of Hagia Sophia. This serves to underline the Christian rather than imperial nature of the church.

The reconstruction of the Holy Apostles into a building that was a new heaven on earth needed no further detail for Constantine's audience: the church, any church, was regarded by the Byzantines as a microcosm of heaven. Next, moving inside the building, Rhodios told his audience that just as heaven sparkled with stars, so the ceiling of the Holy Apostles bore its own constellations, not unnatural scenes of pagan myth but 'mightier stars', the Word of God and his miracles (lines 505–533). This is a statement of triumphant Orthodoxy. The man-made roof of the church showing the life of Christ is described as superior to the vault of heaven with its constellations depicting pagan myths. In theological terms, this reads as an assertion of the significance of the Incarnation, a key element in Constantine's account, over the creation of the natural world. Potentially, did the poem not lack its conclusion, this passage would occupy a central position in the text, underlining its importance in establishing the Christian ideology espoused by the poet.[43]

At this point, Constantine checked his *periegesis* once again and changed direction, promising to return later to the interior. First though, for the sake of order, it was necessary to describe the form of the church itself. This deliberate disruption of a linear progression, seemingly allowing and then restraining his enthusiasm, means Constantine's account is not a simple journey into and through the building. The impression of disarray created is highly appropriate to the subject matter of the ekphrasis, the sense of confusion and lack of focus the viewer can feel when confronted with an elaborate building.[44] The sense of disorder matches the viewers' impressions on approaching the building, the variety and simultaneity of the visual experience, seeing architecture and art together; it is also an acknowledgement that the poet can impose his own order on the church.

Constantine's disruption of his description at this point led to his invoking the aid of the Word who taught the Apostles (lines 543–545), a reference both to Christ and to the Holy Spirit, in mastering the words (a deliberate pun) to

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[43]   These insights belong to Paul Magdalino in the first instance. He also suggested (pers. comm.) that the work as we have it may have formed some sort of riposte to the *Kosmikos Pinax* of John of Gaza, a work also contained in the *Palatine Anthology* and so likely to have been familiar to Constantine. Magdalino also pointed out that this passage may further have served as a comment on the sort of astrological cosmology found in the work of Leo Choirospaktes, for example on the Bath of Leo the Wise, which Constantine VII restored. Leo was a target elsewhere of Rhodios's invective.

[44]   Webb, 'The Aesthetics of Sacred Space', 67.

describe the church. Both disruption and invocation are conventional literary topoi. The former serves to create a sense of the poet delivering a spontaneous performance rather than a carefully-crafted composition; the latter makes a claim both to modesty and to divine inspiration. Constantine is very explicit that he is neither an architect nor a geometer (lines 541–542). This disingenuous disclaimer served a double purpose. As discussed earlier, it was a clever twist on the conventional topos of the author's inability to express in words the wonders that he was about to describe, but it also served to distance Constantine as a literary man and a poet from architects, craftsmen with whom he would not wish to be associated.

Constantine then approached the plan of the church. Reinach observed that the section of the poem from line 548 onwards is a deeply obscure piece of description and that Constantine's invocation to the Word has been of no benefit.[45] This is certainly true in the context of looking for an objective description from which the church could be reconstructed; however, in terms of what Constantine was looking to achieve, it is a little harsh. Part of the problem is that there is no simple route to follow around a cross-shaped church: should the poet take his audience west to east and then north to south or should he work sequentially through the cross-arms? In fact, what Constantine appears to do is come to a standstill and locate himself in the centre of the church under the main dome, as he described how the architect laid out a central cube and then surrounded it with four further cubes (lines 557–561), fixing the form of the cross to east, west, south and north (lines 570–571). Constantine's description conveys a sense of the church being built around the fixed, static central point, as time and again he tells his audience what lies around them on four sides.

Constantine's original audience would not have needed the 'facts' of the church's appearance spelt out to them so he presented them with the architect as geometer, constructing the church around a cube, or square, from multiples of two and four, wonderfully creating a mystical building of which the ultimate architect was God the Creator himself.[46] In this expression of a plan based on cubes and fours, creating a divine form for the church, Constantine wished, so he said, to articulate the harmony of the building's composition (lines 548–581). Christine Angelidi pointed out the potential significances of the cube in Byzantium, as, for example, an echo of the square city in the *Book of Revelations*, but also as representing balance, stability and harmony.[47] In this context, she argued that the difference in Constantine's description with that of Prokopios

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[45]   Reinach, 'Commentaire', 64.

[46]   As John of Damascus asserted: *De Fide Orthodoxa*, 1.3, PG 94, col. 797A.

[47]   Angelidi, "Η περιγραφή'. She also suggests that the idea of four pillars with a rounded roof would evoke the *kiborion* to any Byzantine. Hiscock, *The Symbol at your Door*,

over the lengthening of the western arm derived from Constantine's desire to see the church as square in shape. For Constantine, the shapes of the building formed reflections of the eternal heavenly and transient earthly worlds. The square or cube on which the church was founded symbolised the earth and the four elements (as Constantine made clear to his audience in lines 444–445) while the circles or spheres with which it was roofed denoted the heavenly (line 505, a heaven furnished with its own stars; lines 631–632, heaven furnishing the domes).[48]

This section of the piece is not meant to be an absolute record of how many piers or vaults or columns there were in the Holy Apostles, though that may also have been the case. These figures, what Kazhdan criticised as an attention to architectural volumes and arithmetical figures, served a role of revealing hidden truths.[49] Constantine used numbers, almost invariably even numbers in multiples of two and four, with particular reference to 12, the number of the Apostles, to draw out for his audience the significance of the numbering of those architectural features and the typological role that they might play in the church. The numbers making up the cube, two and four, underlined the qualities of stability and harmony suggested by the cube itself. The number two also invoked the two natures of Christ. Four evoked, among other things, equality, stability, justice, the elements and the virtues.[50] Significantly, from the twos and fours and the cube form, the architect was enabled to draw out the form of the salvatory cross. Five, the number of vaults and domes, represented the fundamental form of the church, a 'five-composed' building (for example, line 572), and the number five signified the uniting of the first female and male numbers, two and three. It could thereby indicate the universe or the human microcosm, emphasising the church as the place where the heavenly and earthly worlds met.

The concept of the space of the church as an image of God, of divine space and a replica of the universe, was a well-known one in Byzantium.[51] As Maximos the Confessor put it in his *Mystagogy*, the Church is 'a figure and image of the entire

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96–100, discusses the Holy Apostles in the context of the Greek cross-shape, and 115–118, the cube and sphere in the context of Platonic forms.

[48] This is the sort of cosmology found in Kosmas Indikopleustes: the flat earth with a barrel-vaulted heaven above resembling a domed house. See W. Wolska-Conus (ed.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, topographie chrétienne* (Paris, 1968–1973), vol. 2, 12–17, and H. Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', in S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos (eds), *Architecture as Icon* (Princeton, 2010), 88–90.

[49] Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, vol. 2, 160.

[50] Hiscock, *The Symbol at your Door*, 17–20.

[51] See Saradi, 'Space', 101–105.

world composed of visible and invisible essences'; the human church reveals the church 'not of human construction'. In this context, 'The whole spiritual world seems mystically imprinted on the whole sensible world in symbolic form for those who are capable of seeing this'.[52] Germanos's eighth-century *Ecclesiastic History* is overt in its treatment of the building of the church as a symbolic space, 'the earthly heaven in which the super-celestial God dwells and walks about'.[53] Constantine's role, as poet, was to make his audience aware of this spiritual dimension. This cosmological reading of the poem also has an eschatological dimension, one that can be related to wider apocalyptic fears in the tenth century, fears found also in texts such as the *Life* of Andrew the Fool.[54] Although Constantine's account is not as explicit in its statements about symbolism as Maximos or Germanos, his church nevertheless reflects the Byzantine belief that the beauty of the church reveals the beauty of the world, a divine creation.

As well as divinely-patterned, the church was solid. Constantine emphasised its firm foundations throughout the poem. The architect fitted the building together skilfully and wisely (line 582); it was woven and bonded, and given stable foundations and strong bases lest it fell beneath its own weight (lines 577–588). The masonry was 'well-made' (line 594) and the church stood in 'secure formation', like generals or giants (lines 614–620) entwining their fingers. As a description of the vaults, giants interlacing their fingers with their neighbours is very evocative, adding to the image of size and solidity that Constantine developed throughout the poem. He was much concerned with the stability of the building, especially in terms of its foundations (line 584), fearing lest either the weight of masonry (line 586) or tremors (lines 683–684, 783–785) bring the church crashing down. Earthquakes were a very real fear in Constantinople: by the tenth century, seven days in the liturgical year had been set aside to remind the Byzantines of their deliverances from earthquakes.[55]

Having established the church as a mystical yet well-grounded building in which all elements fitted securely together, Constantine progressed to the interior fixtures and fittings. He opened with a metaphor of the church adorned like a bride or a bridal chamber, immediately reminding his audience that the

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[52]   Maximos the Confessor, *Mystagogia*, ch. 2, PG 91, col. 669B; trans. by G. C. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor. Selected Writings* (London, 1985), 188–189.

[53]   Germanos, *Ecclesiastic History*: PG 98, cols. 384B–453B; text and translation by Meyendorff, *St Germanus of Constantinople*, section 1, p. 57.

[54]   Alexander, 'The Strength of Empire'; P. Magdalino, 'The Year 1000 in Byzantium', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden, 2002), 233–270; Stephenson, 'Staring at Serpents'.

[55]   B. Croke, 'Two Early Byzantine Earthquakes and their Liturgical Commemoration', *B* 51 (1981), 122–147.

Christian church was the bride of Christ (lines 644–645). He then described the marbles of the church, in a passage that, as has often been remarked, bears a close comparison to Paul the Silentiary's account of the marbles of Hagia Sophia, and he did not fail to remind his audience once more that the architects of the Holy Apostles were the Anthemios or Isidore responsible for Hagia Sophia (lines 640; 650–674). Paul's account of the marbles is seen as evoking in words the narratives implicit in the stones themselves and so giving a taste of the expanse and glory of the Byzantine empire, the extent of the remit of Justinian.[56] Since the Holy Apostles was also Justinian's creation, the same points are surely valid here, both in the context of Justinian and also in the context of the tenth-century audience, suggesting the past glories of Justinian's Byzantium as a part of the present glories of the empire. The account of the marbles also lends an aesthetic quality to Constantine's description, emphasising the qualities of brightness, brilliance and polychromacity valued by the Byzantines.[57] But the sheer weight of variety and creation of dazzle helps further to disrupt the linear narrative and engenders the feeling of confusion felt by the viewer on entering the church; this is, after all, the point where Constantine's account most clearly moves into the building. This sense of dizzying the viewer is another topos, one used explicitly by Photios, for example, in his tenth homily, where the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos is said to 'whirl around' the viewer.[58] Here, it might be that Constantine strove for that effect, in order to create a sense of multiple wonder within the Holy Apostles.

Having talked about the marbles, Constantine used the internal columns of the church to develop further his themes of the building as a divine and mystic construction. He returned to his bridal metaphor, and to the image of generals guarding the church, and to number symbolism – 12 and 48, multiples of two and four – in creating an image of how the columns run around the whole interior of the church and were used in the galleries. Constantine also described the sculpture within the church: shoots of vines bursting with grapes, roses, lilies and fruits. If this is sixth-century decorative work, then resemblances with sculptural fragments surviving from Anicia Juliana's church of St Polyeuktos are immediately apparent, as well as with sculpture from Hagia Sophia itself.[59] But, again, more important than the 'actual' appearance is what these images symbolised. Vines

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[56]   Macrides and Magdalino, 'Architecture of Ekphrasis', 69.

[57]   L. James, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art* (Oxford, 1996), chs 6 and 7.

[58]   Photios, *Homily* 10, 5.

[59]   S. Eyice, 'Les fragments de la décoration plastique de l'église des Saints-Apôtres', *Cahiers Archéologique* 8 (1956), 63–74, argued for the survival of sculptural fragments from the Holy Apostles. On St Polyeuktos: M. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium* (London, 1989), 77–126.

and grapes called to mind Christ the True Vine; roses and lilies suggested the Song of Solomon and the Beloved subject of that Song, who had a Christian symbolism as Wisdom.[60] That theme was additionally resonant in the context of a poem offered to Constantine VII, son of Leo the Wise. Most importantly, as Constantine himself reiterated, all of these aspects proved the church to be both the Bride of Christ and a heavenly building on earth (line 735).

Throughout the portrayal of the church, the same themes recur: the building's divine nature, supported by God; its stability, designed to last forever; its magnificence; the deeper spiritual meanings it contains. Piling detail on detail, Constantine's language created a sense of movement and animation, keeping the subject vivid for his audience. In part, this was achieved moving from outside to in and around the building, in part by ascribing actions to the architect, in part by describing architectural features as if they were not static but in motion and in part by ascribing human qualities to them: the architect stretched and unfolded the church (line 573); piers and columns strode and extended their right hands into the air and entwined fingers (lines 618, 619). Variegated effects helped the poet; the list of the bright colours of the marbles is overwhelming in its detail. The point, however, was to create an experience transcending human experience, revealing spiritual mysteries, moving the account from the physical to the spiritual world. The divinely-founded building was a wonder not simply because of its architecture but also because of what its architecture symbolised and evoked for its beholders. These were the elements of the building that were not immediately visible but that were implicit in the structure, most obviously through the numbers and shapes that Constantine described. This was a church built by Justinian and his architects, but it was laid out by Constantine for the tenth-century audience who now saw it, who now appreciated the plan and form, the marbles and sculpture, and who now gained a sense of the glory of the past still in existence, the magnitude of the empire and its safeguarding by God.

A Note on Relics and Mausolea

In Constantine's account, as it survives, the relics of the church and its funerary connection play a surprisingly minor role. After all, the Holy Apostles held one of the most significant set of relics in Constantinople, next to those of the Passion, which were largely held in the Great Palace and inaccessible to most; and it was

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[60]   True Vine: John 15, 1–8; roses and lilies: Song of Solomon, 2.1.

the mausoleum of the Byzantine emperors.[61] Constantine gives both of these aspects short shrift.

He is relatively brief about the relics in the church: Andrew, Luke and Timothy were placed in the church by Constantius; it was then named after all the Apostles (lines 481–492). Constantine does not mention Prokopios's claim that Justinian rediscovered these relics. Mesarites's account adds that the bodies of saints Gregory of Nazianzos and John Chrysostom were laid in the sanctuary.[62] And Constantine does not mention the imperial mausolea at all.

This silence is unexpected in the context of Macedonian imperial interest in the church. In the context of the relics, the *Synaxarium* of Constantinople records that Gregory's body was translated to the Holy Apostles in the reign of Constantine VII; and the emperor wrote a speech to be given at an event commemorating this.[63] One of the earliest of Leo VI's homilies deals with the translation of Chrysostom's body, and Constantine VII also wrote an oration to be delivered in the church at the festival of the translation of the body of John Chrysostom (presumably in 938, the 500th anniversary of the translation).[64] Further, the garments of Andrew, Luke and Timothy were discovered in Constantine's reign and put in the church by the patriarch Polyeuktos between 956 and 959. In the context of imperial burials, Constantine VII certainly thought a list of imperial sarcophagi worth including in the *Book of Ceremonies*.[65] This recorded that Michael III and Constantine's grandfather, Basil I, were the first emperors since Anastasios I to be buried in Constantine's mausoleum in the Holy Apostles; Leo VI was also buried there. In contrast, Romanos Lekapenos and his sons were not buried in the church, but in their family church, the Myrelaion.

Why did Constantine not mention any of this? There are several possible answers. The poem is unfinished and so these could simply be elements belonging to the lost part of the text. The absence of Gregory and John may indicate a date for the poem before 938. The mausolea were probably located outside the church and so the relationship between them and the church was less close in the tenth century than it might otherwise have seemed. Or even these were not elements that really matched what Constantine was trying to convey in the poem. All of these answers have some element of plausibility; none are utterly convincing.

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[61]   Papacostas, 'Medieval Progeny', 388.

[62]   Mesarites, *Description*, ch. 38, 3 and 4.

[63]   H. Delehaye (ed.), *Acta Sanctorum* 63 (Brussels, 1902), 422, 21.

[64]   See Downey, 'The Builder of the Original Church', 67 and n. 49, and 'Constantine the Rhodian', 216.

[65]   *Book of Ceremonies* 2, 42, pp. 642–646. G. Downey, 'The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 79 (1959), 27–51; Grierson, 'Tombs and Obits'.

The Mosaics

The final surviving element of the poem is an account of the mosaics of the church. This, just as with Constantine's description of the architecture, has been used both in reconstructing the church – where exactly were they located? – and in discussing and reconstructing the dating of its decorative programme. What of the mosaic programme belonged to Justinian's work in the sixth century; had it been changed by the time Constantine wrote and how different was the programme of the twelfth-century church?

As with the architecture, so the surviving textual accounts of the mosaics cause as many problems in answering these questions as they offer solutions. Prior to Constantine's narrative, textual evidence is brief and contradictory. Prokopios did not give any details of how Justinian's church was decorated. On the basis of the surviving Justinianic mosaics in Hagia Sophia, it could be surmised that the church contained gold mosaic and aniconic decoration; on the basis of the sixth-century mosaics in Ravenna and Sinai, it could as well have contained figural decoration in the form of biblical and imperial scenes. Justin II supposedly 'adorned' the church but in what way is unknown.[66] Basil I, in addition to improving and repairing the architecture of the church, 'having scraped off the signs of old age and removed the wrinkles...made it once more beautiful and new', which is also opaque.[67] Basil is also said to have removed mosaic and marbles from the Holy Apostles to use in his own foundation of the Nea Church. Leo VI, in contrast, took mosaics, marbles and columns from the Church of St Stephen for the Holy Apostles and the Church of All Saints.[68]

As they did with the architectural form of the church, so scholars have weighed up the merits and perceived accuracies of Constantine's account of the decoration of the church against that of Nikolaos Mesarites. Constantine described 11 narrative scenes; Mesarites 18.[69] They both describe seven scenes

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[66]   Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6058 (565 AD).

[67]   *Life of Basil*, *Theophanes Continuatus*, 5. 80. Trans. by Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 192.

[68]   Specifically from the Mausoleum of Justinian: *Patria* 4, ch. 32, p. 288, lines 13–15. For Leo: *Patria* 3, ch. 209, pp. 280–281, line 17 on.

[69]   Constantine: the Annunciation; Nativity; the Coming of the Magi; the Presentation in the Temple; the Baptism; the Transfiguration; the Resurrection of the Widow's Son; the Raising of Lazarus; the Entry into Jerusalem; the Betrayal; the Crucifixion. In the order Mesarites gives them: the Communion of the Apostles; the Transfiguration; the Crucifixion; Pentecost; the Annunciation; Nativity; Baptism; Christ Walking on Water; Lazarus; the Betrayal, the Women at the Tomb; Christ appearing to the Women; the Priests with Pilate and Soldiers; the Disciples going to Galilee; Thomas and the Apostles; Doubting Thomas; the Sea of Tiberias; the Draught of Fishes.

(the Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism, Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, the Betrayal and the Crucifixion) but with different details. Constantine describes four scenes that Mesarites does not note (the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Raising of the Widow's Son, the Entry into Jerusalem) and Mesarites 11 that Constantine does not mention (in the order in which Mesarites presents them, the Communion of Apostles, Pentecost, Christ Walking on Water, the Women at the Tomb, Christ appearing to the Women, the Priests with Pilate and the Soldiers, the Disciples going to Galilee, Thomas and the Apostles, Doubting Thomas, the Sea of Tiberias, the Draught of Fishes). The majority of this last set of scenes are post-Crucifixion and it needs to be remembered that Constantine's poem breaks off at the Crucifixion.

The differences between the two accounts have led to disputes about the identification of sixth-century, ninth-century, tenth-century and twelfth-century scenes. Debate has been largely based around reconstructions of the iconography of the mosaic scenes derived from the two texts in comparison to known examples of Byzantine art. In this context, the differences between Constantine and Mesarites have been used by all parties. Much initial discussion sprang from Mesarites's mentioning in his account of the Women at the Tomb the artist of the piece, named in a marginal note as Eulalios.[70] Because of the lack of named artists in Byzantium, Eulalios sparked considerable interest and heated debate: was he a sixth-century or a twelfth-century mosaicist? Heisenberg argued strongly for a sixth-century date for both Eulalios and the mosaics of the church. He interpreted Mesarites's descriptions in terms of sixth-century iconography. Thus, for example, he saw Mesarites's description of the raising of Lazaros (which he claimed was the work of Eulalios) as a perfect match for the depiction of the scene in the sixth-century Rossano Gospels and he dismissed Constantine's account of the dead Christ at the Crucifixion as part of that author's unreliability[71] Martin, however, saw Constantine's dead Christ as the model for the artist of the ninth-century Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos, contradicting Heisenberg's sixth-century ascription[72] Salač suggested that Constantine's brief description of the Raising of Lazaros was closer to depictions on fourth-century sarcophagi.[73] On the basis of the two written accounts, he argued that it was possible that Constantine's Lazaros scene was not the same as Mesarites's scene, suggesting a period of alteration to the mosaics between the two authors. Bees took issue

[70]   Mesarites, *Description*, chs 28 and 23, and Downey's n. 30.

[71]   Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, vol. 2, 241–247 (Lazarus), 186–196 (Crucifixion); A. Heisenberg, 'Die alten Mosaiken der Apostelkirche und der Hagia Sophia', in *Xénia. Homage international à l'Université Nationale de Grèce* (1912), 121–160.

[72]   Martin, 'Dead Christ', 191. The homilies are Paris B.N. gr. 510.

[73]   Salač, 'Quelques épigrammes', 22.

with the dating of Eulalios to the sixth century and made the case that he was a twelfth-century artist.[74] He too used the two texts to decide which mosaics were restorations. Wulff, who agreed with Heisenberg's dating of the mosaics to the sixth century, nevertheless, in contrast to Heisenberg, preferred to see the image of Christ in the main dome, which he interpreted as a Pantokrator, as dating to after Iconoclasm. Malickij, who believed in a twelfth-century mosaic campaign led by Eulalios, raised the question of whether the image was a Pantokrator or whether Constantine's account was of an Ascension, as was the case at San Marco and in the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts.[75] If so, did Mesarites's Pantokrator then replace Constantine's Ascension at some point between the two descriptions, perhaps as a twelfth-century work of art created by Eulalios?[76] The same scholars also made strenuous efforts to decide where in the church individual mosaics were located. Reinach suggested that the mosaics were positioned in the other domes, the pendentifs and the walls.[77] Heisenberg, who went as far as to draw up a plan for the mosaics of the church, based on Mesarites, argued, for example, that Mesarites placed the scene of Christ walking on water in the north arm of the church where Constantine had situated the scene of the Widow's Son, and that therefore the one replaced the other.[78] But all of this is conjecture. All that Constantine tells us about the site of the other mosaics is that gold mosaic stretched over the whole of the interior, to the height of the roof, over the vaults and as far as the marble sheathing and the second cornice (lines 742–747); Mesarites is not much more precise.

Following Krautheimer's arguments for the reconstruction of the church between 940 and 978, both Ernst Kitzinger and John Beckwith proposed an otherwise unattested redecoration inside the building after the tenth century. They suggested that the differences between Constantine's and Mesarites's

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[74]   For the sixth century: Heisenberg *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, vol. 2, and Wulff, 'Sieben Wunder', 329–331; for the twelfth, N. A. Bees, 'Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über die Eulalios-Frage und den Mosaikschmuck der Apostelkirche zu Konstantinopel', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 39 and 40 (Berlin, 1917), 1–62 is concerned with the mosaics in the context of Eulalios. Bees uses Constantine's text to discuss which mosaics Constantine described and the restorations of Basil I at 23–26. Also see Malickij, 'Remarques sur la date'. O. Demus, '"The Sleepless Watcher"; Ein Erklärungsversuch', *Jahrbuch der Österreichicher Byzantinistik* 28 (1979), 241–245 rejects the idea of this image as one of the first recorded Byzantine self-portraits; Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 229-30 sees Eulalios as a twelfth-century artist.

[75]   Wulff, 'Sieben Wunder'; Malickij, 'Remarques sur la date', 130.

[76]   As Bees 'Kunstgeschichtliche' and Malickij, 'Remarques sur la date' thought.

[77]   Reinach, 'Commentaire', 68–69.

[78]   Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, 141 (plan of mosaics in the church) and 239–240.

accounts of the mosaics, in the scenes that both described and in the scenes found only in one and not the other, supported this still further. Kitzinger argued that Mesarites described a 'vastly richer' cycle of Christological scenes than Constantine.[79] This fitted a tendency towards an increase in narrative scenes apparent in later Byzantine churches, such as Monreale, for example. Consequently, this more detailed cycle indicated that there had been both a restoration and a development of the mosaics of the church. As a result, he, followed by Beckwith, posited a new wider phase of Byzantine mosaic decoration between the tenth and twelfth centuries, spearheaded by the Holy Apostles. This belief has, in turn, had a significant effect on scholarly discussions about the nature and development of church decoration in Byzantium, suggesting a linear movement from single figures and simple decoration towards very full, complex and detailed narrative programmes in place by the twelfth century.

In response to Kitzinger's position, Epstein rightly pointed out that Mesarites's Christological narrative was no more complete than Constantine's and that neither piece was meant to be an archaeologically complete documentation of the church.[80] She also showed that narrative sequences in church art did not follow a straightforward temporal and linear progression from single figures to complex detail, citing detailed ninth-century narrative cycles from both Southern Italy and Cappadocia. It seems more plausible that the decorative schema of a church was fitted to its architecture and its patron's purse than to an abstract ideal plan of development. At Monreale, for example, the sheer scale of the building and the amount of wall-space needing to be filled demanded an increased number of narrative scenes and indeed of saints. At the Holy Apostles, we have no real sense of the actual size of the church or of how much wall space was occupied by mosaics.

The problem with all of this academic disputation is that it relies exclusively on subjective interpretations of iconographic comparisons and of textual

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[79] E. Kitzinger, 'Byzantine and Medieval Mosaics after Justinian', *Encyclopaedia of World Art* 10 (London and New York, 1965), 344, and J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Harmondsworth, 1970, revised editions still in print), 222. Beckwith's arguments are also based on a belief that the Holy Apostles was pictured in the *Menologion* of Basil and the two manuscripts of James Kokkinobaphos. See Maguire, 'Truth and Convention', 122–125, for discussion of how the scenes of the Transfiguration and the Draught of Fishes described by Mesarites could be twelfth century. Dark and Özgümüş, 'New Evidence', 396, also believe in this later phase. Epstein, 'Church of the Holy Apostles', considers that Constantine and Mesarites describe the same mosaics.

[80] Epstein, 'Rebuilding and Redecoration', 90. This conclusion was also reached by Otto Demus for similar reasons: Demus, *Mosaics of San Marco*, n. 5 to p. 232, referring also to an unpublished work on the Holy Apostles in Dumbarton Oaks. *ODB*, vol. 2, 'Holy Apostles, Church of the', seems to believe in a twelfth-century restoration of the mosaics.

descriptions and is concerned with matters that were of little consequence to the Byzantine authors. Constantine himself was not concerned with the date of the mosaics of the church. The poem does not ascribe them, unlike the building, to the reign of Justinian, nor are they attributed to any other time or emperor. Rather, Constantine treated them simply as 'the images in the church'. It is true that some of the features he mentioned imply that some, at least, of the scenes he described were not sixth-century but should be dated to the period after Iconoclasm. The description of the Christ-child in the arms of Symeon at the Presentation in the temple, and the presence of a dead, naked Christ on the Cross in the Crucifixion are iconographic details that are found in surviving Byzantine art only after Iconoclasm.[81] The implication therefore is that these scenes post-date the mid-ninth century. But Constantine's purpose in describing these details was not to enable us to date the mosaics; there is no means of being certain whether the same date applies to all of the scenes in the church or of knowing whether these images are the result of Basil's sponsorship (as the *Life of Basil* claims) or of Leo VI's (as the *Patria* suggests). Nor is Nikolaos Mesarites interested in dating the mosaics. It is impossible to be sure whether the differences between his scenes and Constantine's (both in terms of which scenes and of what is depicted in the images) reflect an actual physical difference in the pictures or a conceptual difference in the use of the images in the two authors' very different texts.[82] This last would be far more in keeping with our understanding of the ways in which Byzantine written sources talk about works of art. The arguments for Mesarites's set of mosaics being the same as Constantine's are, to my mind, as strong and as inconclusive as those suggesting a difference.[83] However, in the context of the texts as literary pieces, little effort has been spent on considering how and why Constantine described the images in the church in the way that he did. What does he actually say about the mosaics and what can we take from this?

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[81]   For the Presentation: Maguire, 'The Iconography of Symeon', 261–269, arguing that after Iconoclasm, Christ was shown in Symeon's arms rather than the Virgin's. For the Crucifixion, Martin, 'The Dead Christ', 189–196, suggesting that that the Holy Apostles was the first place where this image was depicted in monumental art. Of course, it is always conceivable that Constantine could have been describing the images in line with the conventions of tenth-century imagery rather than what was actually there; Photios's description of the Mother of God in the apse of Hagia Sophia does not describe 'accurately' what is there but rather what Photios saw as being there: R. S. Nelson, 'To Say and to See: Ekphrasis and Vision in Byzantium', in R. S. Nelson (ed.), *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2000), 143–168.

[82]   As indeed Downey in Mesarites, *Description*, 860, stated.

[83]   Epstein, 'Rebuilding and Redecoration', thinks there is no reason not to believe that the figural cycle described by Mesarites was part of the restoration work probably described in the *Life of Basil*, and so the same as that described by Constantine.

The first image to be mentioned is that of Christ. Constantine said that this 'exceedingly honoured image' in the middle of the church (lines 629–630), showed Christ depicted as the sun, the wonder of wonders (lines 736–737). These two statements together imply the same image, as both locate it in the main central dome of the church. The church also bore the image of the Virgin 'like the moon' and the Apostles, 'like stars' (lines 740–741). Constantine was not specific as to whether these were also located in the central dome. The text can be read either way and it is not necessary to assume that he described an Ascension, a scene which would contain all three elements together, simply because that is the case at San Marco in Venice.[84] These could as easily be three separate mosaics, Christ, Virgin and Apostles, located anywhere within the church, or an alternative scene containing these three elements, either figural, as a dome with Christ at the centre and Virgin and Apostles standing below, or narrative, such as the Koimesis. What matters is that all three images, in descending order of importance, but all bright and wonderful, are present in the church.

Constantine went on to point out that the mosaics of the church depicted 'contests and images worthy of veneration', teaching their viewers about the abasement of the Word and his presence to us mortals: Christ's life and ministry on earth (lines 748–750). In these phrases, Constantine perhaps told his audience where his focus in revealing the inner meaning of these scenes would lie: on scenes depicting Christ's humanity and incarnation. The term *kenosis*, 'abasement', refers specifically to the concept of the divine abasement in the Incarnation, hinting at the nature of Christ as both human and divine, an issue which had underpinned the Iconoclastic disputes and which was central in Orthodoxy. Nigel Hiscock has suggested that if the number five represented the microcosm of the human being, Christ was located in the central dome to underline his identification with humanity through the Incarnation and Crucifixion.[85] In the words of John of Damascus, 'The word of the cross is the power of God ... because, just as the four arms of the cross are made solid and bound together by their central part, so are the height and depth, the length and breadth, that is to say all creation, both visible and invisible, held together by the power of God', the crucified Christ represented by the cruciform church.[86]

In terms of how Byzantine mosaic decoration is discussed by art historians, Otto Demus outlined what has become a standard means of understanding the

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84   As suggested by Wulff, 'Die sieben Wunder'; Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, vol. 2, 239–241 and Malickij, 'Remarques sur la date', 129.

85   Hiscock, *The Symbol at your Door*, 100.

86   John of Damascus, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, 4.11, PG 94, col. 1129B; translation by F. Chase, *St John of Damascus, Writings* (New York, 1958), 350.

decoration of the Middle Byzantine church.[87] He suggested that the model was of three levels of decoration: the upper level, representing the heavenly sphere, was where images of Christ, the Mother of God, angels, prophets and apostles were located; scenes from the life of Christ filled the second register, and the lowest level was where images of the saints and their lives were placed. For Demus, the middle register was essentially a 'feast cycle', the space where the 12 great festivals of the Orthodox church were located. Although the choice of what constituted a Great Feast varied, Demus's three registers are effective as a basic schema, as long as it is recognised that programmes of church decoration were very flexible and related to a variety of individual issues, such as church design, function, and the patron's wishes and resources.[88] In the context of Demus's 'Middle Byzantine Programme', the majority of Constantine's scenes are found regularly. Although there are omissions (the Washing of Feet, for example) and unusual inclusions (the Widow's Son), Constantine's silence over an image is no proof that it was not present; he said nothing, for example, of what was at the east end of the church and it would be an unusual Byzantine church with no image in the east, even if the altar was in a central space. Rather, we should look for what might bring together the scenes that he does choose to describe and what themes might run through these accounts.

Constantine described 11 scenes. The Annunciation, Nativity, the Coming of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism and the Transfiguration are called 'wonders' (line 751: the word is repeated implicitly in the opening lines of each of these scenes), as is the Crucifixion, matching the concept of the seven wonders of the city of Constantinople and reiterating the symbolic number seven, resonant of wisdom and the Holy Spirit. Before reaching the Crucifixion, 'wonder of wonders' (line 916), Constantine includes four further scenes: the Resurrection of the Widow's Son; the Raising of Lazarus; the Entry into Jerusalem; and the Betrayal (with a long anti-Jewish section). It must be remembered that the end of the poem is missing and so, despite the Crucifixion being numbered as the seventh wonder, it is conceivable that Constantine did go on to mention post-Passion images; put another way, we cannot take their absence from what survives to us as indicating their absence in the tenth century.[89]

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[87]   O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (Oxford, 1948); E. Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 36 (1988), 51–74.

[88]   T. F. Matthews, 'The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration', *Perkins Journal* 41 (1988), 11–22; L. James, 'Monks, Monastic Art, the Sanctoral Cycle and the Middle Byzantine Church', in M. Mullett and A. Kirby (eds), *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism* (Belfast, 1992), 162–175.

[89]   There seems no need to emend the Crucifixion into the 'eleventh wonder' as Reinach, 'Commentaire', 100, suggested. See also Salač, 'Quelques epigrammes', 13–14.

The scenes should not be seen as a feast cycle, nor even as a 'straightforward' ministry or life-of-Christ cycle. Rather, as an overarching theme, as he had hinted at in his comparison of the roof of the church with the vault of heaven (lines 505–533), Constantine showed in the preamble to his narrative (lines 748–750) that all 11 scenes shared the subject of Christ's Incarnation and humanity and his mission of salvation and resurrection. The Annunciation, Nativity, Magi and Presentation overtly displayed Christ's Incarnation. The Presentation further foreshadowed the Crucifixion. The Baptism, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus and Widow's Son all underlined the divine and human natures of Christ. The Entry into Jerusalem, the Betrayal and the Crucifixion both displayed his humanity but also emphasised his mission to mankind. Lazarus and the Widow's Son must have been a deliberate choice of miracles on Constantine's part, reinforcing as they did the theme of salvation stated by the Incarnation and the Passion. In addition, these two scenes, with the Crucifixion, emphasised the triumph of life over death through Christ, perhaps one way in which the church's role as a place of burial was hinted at by the poet.

Although Constantine's accounts are filled with the standard details of Christological scenes found in other authors and in art, he gave them particular direction. His account was not strikingly close to that of the Gospels, as he chose to add and omit details throughout, to change words and emphases. In the Annunciation, he emphasised Gabriel's bringing the Incarnation of the Word, underlined through references to the marvellous birth, the Virgin's conception without seed and her bearing the Lord of the Universe. The Nativity reiterated this theme of the divine given human form: it is a birth without labour, the child lying in the manger whilst the angels sing hymns of glory to the Word of God and the shepherds celebrate the birth of God.[90] Finally the Magi came to venerate the Word, great God, born of a virgin girl in order to take lordship over the earth. That Constantine called the Nativity and the Magi two separate wonders does not necessarily make them two separate scenes, though this is perfectly possible. However, his concern in this part of the poem was not to describe discrete scenes but to portray wonders, above all the wonder of God-as-man. The fourth wonder, the Presentation, maintained the theme of Incarnation (Symeon bearing Christ as a newborn child, line 781) but also foreshadowed the Crucifixion, as Symeon and Anna's words looked to the future. This image of Symeon holding the Christ-child was used by the ninth-century theologian, George of Nikomedia, to imply the human sentiment involved in the Incarnation.[91] Something of that

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[90] A theme with resonances in Romanos the Melode's Christmas *kontakion*: see J. Grosdidiers de Matons (ed.), *Romanos le Mélode* (Paris, 1965), vol. 2, 50.

[91] The homily has been ascribed to Athanasios of Alexandria (fourth century) but Maguire, 'The Iconography of Symeon', 261–269, makes a convincing case for its being

was perhaps present here, but it was overlain by a presentiment of sorrow and suffering, crucifixion and resurrection (line 783–786), themes that Constantine developed later in the poem.

Both the Baptism and the Transfiguration stressed the divinity of Christ, in contrast to his incarnate humanity in the preceding wonders. In both descriptions, Constantine repeated God's words that Christ was his beloved son. In the Transfiguration, he followed that with the line 'even though he bears the nature of mortal men' (line 821). This phrase, 'mortal men' (βροτοί, 'mortals'), recurs eight times in Constantine's account of scenes from Christ's life, serving to contrast mortals and their fate with Jesus's redemptive mission. The Baptism repeats Christ's role as saviour of mankind, the Transfiguration, his change from mortal to divine form, underlined through the emphasis on divine light and the reaction of the apostles (lines 808–809, 822–823). In both – indeed throughout this section of the poem as a whole – a play on Christ as Word of God and the poet's human words is reiterated.

Both the Raising of the Widow's Son and the Raising of Lazaros showed Christ as conqueror of death and saviour of mankind. The Widow's Son was a very unusual topic both in images and text. In homilies, the widow was often described as mourning unrestrainedly, but here Constantine stressed the rejoicing at the son's resurrection (lines 832a and b).[92] Similarly, the emphasis in Constantine's Lazaros was not on sorrow and the mourning of Lazaros's friends, sisters, and indeed Christ himself, as tended to be the case in homilies and images of the scene.[93] Instead, the poet portrayed Lazaros's dead and corrupt body being brought back to mortal life, leaping from the tomb, escaping destruction. These two miracles struck the same notes of exultant resurrection and triumph over death.

The Entry into Jerusalem moved to emphasise a more overt theme of salvation; the Entry of the Messiah should have been to save Jerusalem and the Jews but only the children, putting their parents to shame, recognised the Son of David. As a result, chaos descended on the city and, implicitly, salvation passed from the Jews to the Christians. Constantine then built on this to highlight the

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George's work. Also see Maguire, 'Depiction of Sorrow', 146 and n. 122.

[92]   See Maguire, 'Depiction of Sorrow', 130. The scene is depicted in the ninth-century manuscript of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Paris, B.N. Gr. 510, fol. 316r) where it illustrates Christ's powers of resurrection: H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI au XIV siècle* (Paris, 1929), plate XLVI and L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1999), 277–278; and in an eleventh-century gospel book, Paris B.N. Gr. 74, fol. 121r; H. Omont, *Evangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1908), pl. 107, 2.

[93]   On which see Maguire, 'Depiction of Sorrow'.

pathos and grief of the Passion cycle. In the Betrayal, he developed the topic of the lawless Jews, associated with Judas the evil betrayer, selling his master to a mob for gain. Constantine employed his talent for invective to good effect in his account of Judas. Judas's character was displayed through his form.[94] His face, eyes filled with murder, nostrils breathing rage, provided the very image of Satan. Movement was a sign of humanity, stillness one of divinity; the all-too-human Judas hastened towards a motionless Christ.[95] His face was ὠχρός, pale in the sense of 'sallow' and 'sick'.[96] His eyes were almost certainly shown in profile, averting his evil gaze from the onlooker.[97] He was a thrice-cursed dog breathing anger like that of asps. These animal references are significant because a link between the appearance of a man and a beast in Byzantium was rarely positive; for man was made in the image of God and thus raised above the animals.[98] Asps and dogs, symbols of the Devil, were particularly reviled.[99] At this point, Constantine interjected a prayer for his own salvation, to be delivered from avarice and the fate of the Rich Man.

The themes of Incarnation, salvation and resurrection were all brought together by Constantine in his account of the Crucifixion, an outrage but a deed marvellous in every way (lines 924, 926). Constantine made it clear that Christ suffered as God and as man: he was the Lamb and Word of God (line 929) but he was also naked and a corpse (lines 928, 934), paradoxically the remover of mortal sin stretched out amid wrongdoers. This iconography of the naked (or loincloth-clad), dead Christ was one that seems to have developed in the ninth century in response to Christological arguments from the period of Iconoclasm about the nature of Christ and whether or not the divine could be depicted. The image showed the suffering of his mortal flesh, in distinction to earlier images

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[94] The epigram cycle in Marcianus Gr. 524 also abuses Judas: Hörandner, 'A Cycle of Epigrams', 129, noting the lengthy curses on Judas in Romanos and the *Christos Paschon* and descriptions of both as animals. For discussions of the revelatory role of the physiognomy, albeit in a sixth-century context, see J.-M. Carrié, 'Traditionnalisme culturel et renouveau historiographique: les portraits physiques des personages célèbres dans la Chronicle de Malalas', in S. Agusta-Boularot et al. (eds), *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas* (Paris, 2006), vol. 2, 197–212.

[95] Maguire, 'Style and Ideology', 225.

[96] James, *Light and Colour*, 74.

[97] Elsner, 'Physiognomies'. Judas was often shown in profile so that the viewer did not receive his gaze.

[98] Dagron, 'Image de bête'.

[99] Psalm 91 (92), 13–16, describes the Messiah trampling on asps; Psalm 140 (141), 3, refers to their venom. For dogs see *ODB*, vol. 1, 'Dog'. The Khludov Psalter (Moscow, Hist. Mus. Gr.129D), fol. 19v, in an image of the Betrayal depicts the Jews as dog-headed, with an appropriate marginal note.

which, in showing an upright, motionless Christ, clothed and with eyes open, suggested that his nature remained untouched.[100] Similar trends were found in homilies; the Iconophile patriarch Nikephoros, for one, used the Crucifixion as proof of Christ's humanity, whilst George of Nikomedia drew on it to preach on the humanity and divinity of Christ.[101]

The grief and astonishment that Constantine's audience was told it would experience at the scene of the Crucifixion was highlighted by Constantine's description of the lament of the Mother of God (lines 946–981). Mary weeps for Christ's Passion and his suffering from laws without justice. She contrasts Gabriel's words of promise of power and divinity for eternity with Symeon's words of warning, echoing the words used earlier in the poem. She bewails her lot, left alone, an abandoned, wretched, grief-filled mother, and she asks whether she will ever see her son's rising again, rising like the morning star as now the sun and moon are blacked out and the earth torn by earthquakes. Her words build on Constantine's theme of the divine and human Christ suffering for mankind, wept over by his human mother, and they hint at the Resurrection to come, the resurrection promised implicitly by the Widow's Son and Lazaros.

By the tenth century, the lament of the Mother of God was a popular literary topic. The earliest surviving example comes in Romanos the Melode's sixth-century *Mary at the Cross*, a dramatic dialogue between Mary and Christ on the way to Calvary.[102] Several ninth-century *troparia* attributed to Leo VI have as their theme the lament of Mary at the cross and share with Constantine an almost self-centred focus on the part of the Mother of God on her suffering; and there was a tradition of funerary laments in Byzantine homiletic literature.[103] Although Constantine's poem has not really been included in discussions of the

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[100]   Martin, 'Dead Christ', seems to think that the image on fol. 30v of the Paris Gregory (Paris, B. N. Cod. Gr.510) and the Crucifixion in San Marco were taken from the mosaics of the Holy Apostles mosaic. Leaving aside all the problems of date and reconstruction that this presents, it is worth noting that neither of Martin's examples depicts the thieves on either side of Christ. On the Paris Gregory image and the iconography of the dead Christ see L. Brubaker, 'Every Cliché in the Book: The Linguistic Turn and the Text-Image Discourse in Byzantine Manuscripts', in L. James (ed.), *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture* (Cambridge, 2007), 67–71.

[101]   George of Nikomedia, *In SS. Mariae Assistentem Cruci*, PG 100, col. 1488 A–B, for example. See Martin, 'Dead Christ', 194; Maguire, 'Depiction of Sorrow', 161–163.

[102]   Romanos the Melode. Edition and translation by J. Grosdidiers de Matons, *Hymnes par Romanos le Mélode* (Paris, 1965), vol. 4, pp. 143–87.

[103]   Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*; Alexiou, 'Lament of the Virgin'. Also see the discussion in H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1981), ch. 5 and the account of models for the lament used by George of Nikomedia in Tsironis, 'Convention and Originality'.

lamenting Mother of God, it shares many features of the traditional threnos. For example, there is a long tradition in Byzantine literature of relating, as Constantine does, Symeon's prophecy that a sword would pierce Mary's soul to her suffering at the crucifixion.[104] Constantine's lament employs several of the tropes found both in Classical and Byzantine laments: the antitheses of life and death, god and man, man and nature; the images of light, life and righteousness; the sense of nature mourning for the dying god.[105] Also typical of such laments, and used by Constantine, are the contrast between past and present (for example, Gabriel's promises and the reality of Mary's grief), the structuring of the mourner, 'I', positioned in contrast to the deceased: I am left alone while you sink to evening. It might even be suggested that the Mother of God's unfulfilled wish that she were dead or a stone block evokes laments in Classical literature where, for example, Helen wishes that she had never been born.[106] But Mary does not reproach Christ; rather, she asks what will become of her now he is no more. Light in Byzantium was frequently used to symbolise divinity and life and seen as scattering darkness of death. In Constantine's lament, Christ himself is the source of this light and the poem, as it survives, ends on a low note: the world thrown into darkness and turmoil.

Henry Maguire has traced the importance of increased emotionalism in art, suggesting that it both mirrors and was mirrored by what was happening in literature. Constantine's lament clearly fits this model of an increased emphasis on emotions and feelings in both literature and art. In his case, because the poem purports to be an account of a set of mosaics, what we see is the poet developing the ekphrastic element of his account, rendering vivid what the audience should see and understand when they look at the scene, directing them to the grief experienced by the Mother of God, putting words into her mouth to make the scene live but also to express something of the emotions suffered and to be suffered around the scene. Indeed, by this point, it might be suggested that it is

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[104] D. I. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus – Das Bild* (Munich, 1965), 174 on. It is found, for example, in George's homily. See Maguire, 'Depiction of Sorrow', 146 and n. 122.

[105] Alexiou, *Ritual Lament*, 66 and 67. Alexiou highlights the theme of Mary left alone and in despair in the world in Symeon Metaphrastes's *Planctus*, the *Christos Paschon* (perhaps eleventh or twelfth century) and the *Epitaphios Threnos*, a part of the liturgy still performed on Good Friday and Holy Saturday, whose date and author are unknown; she also notes that Romanos describes the Virgin bewailing Christ's suffering at the hands of 'lawless ones'.

[106] Helen mourning Hektor, *Iliad* 24, 765. The three-part form of Constantine's version of Mary's lament shares what Alexiou, *Ritual Lament*, 133, isolated as the tripartite structure of laments in Homer: an address to the dead; a remembering of the past and/or imagining the future; a renewal of the opening lament, a structure also shared by Romanos.

almost irrelevant to both poet and audience what the image looked like; what mattered was what it meant.

It has been suggested that Constantine's account of the Holy Apostles is impersonal and formal in contrast to Mesarites's more personal descriptions, that his descriptions of scenes are terse and brief, omitting figures and elements of the scene and that Mesarites's account is the more sophisticated.[107] I would prefer to say that Constantine's scenes provide the essentials of what he wished to convey with a weight of theological emphasis. Throughout what we describe as an account of the mosaics of the Holy Apostles, Constantine did not tell his audience what they could see in the scenes: they could do that for themselves. Rather, he put into words how they should perceive and understand those scenes and he reconstructed events as if they were depicted in time. The details within each scene that he provided were less about what was actually depicted and more about extending that understanding. Hence, for example, the Baptism picked out those features that underlined Constantine's themes of the divine yet human nature of Christ and his salvatory mission; it was irrelevant whether or not the Jordan was personified in the image. In the raising of Lazaros, Mary and Martha were not mentioned in Constantine's text. This does not allow us to argue the toss over whether the scene used sixth- or ninth- or twelfth-century iconography. Rather, Constantine spent his lines on describing how the putrefied body of Lazaros, infested with worms, was miraculously restored to life, escaping corruption and leaping like a gazelle free of the tomb: the 'truth' of this scene that he wished to convey was that of joyful resurrection. His account does form a contrast with that of Nikolaos Mesarites who provided much more detail. But that detail served to bring the image to life for Mesarites's audience in a different way and with different emphases to Constantine.[108] It is a different perception of the scene; we cannot be certain it is a different scene. The execration Constantine heaped on Judas expressed both a hatred of the Jews and an emphasis on the human betrayal and horror of Judas's treachery; Mary's lament revealed the human grief of that betrayal but hinted at the fulfilment of Christ's mission. Throughout, Constantine aimed to convey to his audience spiritual truths that were rather more significant than descriptions of the mosaic images, truths about the Incarnation, the nature of Christ and about his salvatory mission, above all, about his conquest of death.

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[107] Epstein, 'Rebuilding and Redecoration', 81; Maguire 'Profane Aesthetic', 195; Mesarites, *Description*, 868, n. 1 to ch. 13; Webb, 'The Aesthetics of Sacred Space', 71.

[108] Mesarites, *Description*, ch. 26.

Conclusion

The Church of the Holy Apostles, as much as Constantine's Constantinople in the opening part of the poem, was an elaborate creation by the poet. For all Byzantines, the idea of church as microcosm of heaven was so much a part of their perception of these buildings that it could remain implicit and Constantine's account is underpinned by this idea. Beginning outside the building with the image of the fourth hill of Constantinople waiting for the church since the Creation, Constantine created an image of the church as foreordained by God. His description of the construction of the building spelt out its mystical fulfilment, in form (the use of cubes, domes and the cross), in numbers (multiples of two and four, and by the use of five and seven) and in images. His microcosm, wondrously put together through the use of human skill displaying mystical fulfilment, is nevertheless a wondrous building constructed to the glory of God, the bride of Christ – and an imperial foundation. Within this magical building, the Christian message is spelt out: the Incarnation of Christ and his mission to save mankind from death, the promise of joyful resurrection, perhaps appropriate themes for a church used as a funeral church for emperors.

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Chapter 7

In Conclusion

All that is really known about Constantine's poem comes from the internal evidence of the work itself, and that leaves more questions unanswered than answered. It seems likely that the text that survives in the Athos manuscript represents only one version of the original work.[1] This text is a collage of pieces written at different times and on different topics but put together into a reasonably coherent form by an editor, who most plausibly was the poet himself, revising an earlier work for a later use or re-use.[2] What exists consists of at least two poems, one that focused on the honorific columns of Constantinople and one that concentrated on the Holy Apostles. In addition to these two major sections, the 'poem' contains a series of shorter, encomiastic sections that establish that Constantine of Rhodes wrote for Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. However, it is not possible to date the poem or its parts definitively within the long reign of that emperor. Although a reference to four lawful rulers at lines 22–25 has been used to argue a case for the poem as a whole as dating to between 931 and 944, when Constantine VII was emperor with Romanos Lekapenos and two of his sons, those lines might also indicate a period of rule at the start of Constantine's reign, during the regency of his mother, Zoe Karbonopsina. Alternatively, they may represent an interpolation added by the poet during his own revisions and referring to Constantine VII, the emperor's son and their respective empresses.[3]

It has been said that subject matter for the Byzantines was the quintessential feature of a poem: the topic shaped the occasion; the occasion shaped the genre.[4] On a general level, it seems obvious that the poem, whether as a whole or in its parts, belongs to a tradition of Byzantine poems and descriptions of city buildings and monuments that range across time and genre, from Chorikios of Gaza's prose account of the churches of St Sergios and St Stephen in Gaza, and Paul the Silentiary's poem on Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in the sixth century, through to pieces such as Leo Choirosphaktes's poem on the bathhouse

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[1]   Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City'.

[2]   Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodes'; Lauxtermann, 'Constantine's City'.

[3]   For the late dating, see, for example, Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian'; for these lines as interpolation, see Speck, 'Konstantinos von Rhodes' and Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry* and 'Constantine's City'.

[4]   Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 69.

of Leo VI. Constantine's poem, categorising monuments and works of art as it does, and evoking classicism, antiquarianism and imperial ceremony, fits well with traditions of writing in the reigns of both Leo VI and Constantine VII. Throughout the poem, Constantine dealt with topics and themes close to both emperors' hearts. But is it not clear why he should have produced a poem about the monuments of Constantinople and a poem about the Holy Apostles, as well as one (which may never have been written) about Hagia Sophia. If these were written for specific events, then knowledge of those events has disappeared. Further, arguments about the dating of the poem have affected interpretations and contextualisations of the subject matter. A level of circularity is often evident: because Constantine VII is well-known as a patron of art and literature, therefore this piece written under his patronage must date to a time when he was in a position to commission such works. Too much depends on the particular interpretation of the circumstances of the composition of the poem and on our reading of the character of the emperor himself. Yet, though we cannot provide a definite context, it seems inconceivable in tenth-century Byzantium that there would be no reason for the composition of such lengthy works beyond the poet's desire to display his skill and gain imperial patronage.

As we have it, the poem as a whole is framed as a work written for Constantine VII, one that emphasises time and again Constantine of Rhodes's own devotion both to Constantine and, before that, to his father Leo VI. In these circumstances, an imperial reading, notably of that part of the poem dealing with civic monuments, as suggested here, is not difficult. Constantine of Rhodes can be seen to use the monuments of the city of Constantinople to associate Constantine VII with his great imperial predecessors. His emphasis on art forms – monumental columns and statuary – that had, apparently, died out in Byzantium was not antiquarian but served to create an image of Constantinople as an old and revered city with its roots in a different world, the world of Constantine the Great, Theodosios I and Justinian, but a world that was still apparent in the time of Constantine VII.

Imperial themes are much less obvious in the account of the Holy Apostles, where the poet's account of the architecture was rooted in mystic geometry and his account of the mosaics had a clear spiritual direction. The poem on the Holy Apostles is staunchly Christian and Orthodox in tone and content. As the text stands, Justinian is perhaps a linking figure between the two different parts, which may be why his statue on its column appears in two places, as if the poet were beginning to knit the sections together. The church of the Holy Apostles is itself Justinian's: the description of the actual building of the church is framed in terms of the architect's work, Anthemios or Isidore the Younger, the builders of Justinian's Hagia Sophia; the description of the marbles suggests that of Paul the

Silentiary on the marbles of Hagia Sophia. Indeed, had Constantine written on Hagia Sophia, the two churches might have sat together as two great Justinianic works, central to the ceremonial life of Constantinople. In contrast, nowhere in the work does Constantine VII himself appear as a rejuvenator, rebuilder or renewer of past glories in either the city or the church. But whether any of these were themes that a poet might have employed at the start of Constantine VII's reign or after the removal of the Lekapenoi remains open to debate.

Nevertheless, the work as a whole is unified and given coherence by the poet's treatment of his material. The two sections on the city and the church complement each other: the vast church is the Christian culmination of the city's tall, secular, imperial monuments, there is an implied *synkrisis* between the seven secular, imperial monuments and the seven holy icons of the life of Christ, and the piece as a whole is firmly Orthodox in tone. Images and number symbolisms are common to both sections, and motifs important in the part on the Holy Apostles – the numbers four and seven, for example, the symbolism of the cross, the concept of wonders – are introduced in the portion on the city. The poet's words themselves are common to both parts, metaphors and neologisms shared jointly.

In an epigram on an image of the Virgin, Constantine said:

> If one would paint you, O Virgin,
> he had need of stars rather than colours,
> that you, as the gate of light, might be painted in luminaries.
> But the stars yield not to the voice of mortal men;
> therefore you are delineated and painted
> by us with the material that nature and the laws of painting allow.[5]

Marc Lauxtermann's reading of this epigram shows Constantine as treating art and literature as two forms of the imagination that interacted and responded to each other, whilst also recognising that some subjects transcended the mortal mind and so were to be treated with substitutes – metaphors, symbols, circumlocutions – in order to reveal divine secrets.[6] It is an understanding that some things lie beyond mortal words. This is precisely what Constantine appears to have striven for in his account both of the Holy Apostles and of the monuments of Constantinople. It is not a descriptive text, as we tend to

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[5]   *AP* 15, 17. Εἰ ζωγραφεῖν τις ἤθελέν σε, Παρθένε, / ἄστρων ἐδεῖτο μᾶλλον ἀντὶ χρωμάτων, / ἵν' ἐγράφῃς φωστῆρσιν ὡς φωτὸς πύλη / ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπείκει ταῦτα τοῖς βροτῶν λόγοις / ἃ δ' οὖν φύσις παρέσχε καὶ γραφῆς νόμος, / τούτοις παρ' ἡμῶν ἱστορῇ τε καὶ γράφῃ. The translation is W. R. Paton's, very slightly emended.

[6]   Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 122.

understand that word. Rather, in the ways in which he described monuments, architecture and mosaic, in the things he chose to tell his auditors and the ways in which he chose to tell them, Constantine aimed to describe not what was before his audience, under their noses, but what he wished them to know and to recognise about what they saw – the deeper, more profound significances of the monuments within the city and the church. As a result, that audience could comprehend that the column with the cross protected the city because of its form; that the columns of the church held the Holy Apostles secure precisely because there were 48 of them; that Lazaros rose triumphant from the grave, guaranteeing the power of Christ to save mankind. In the end, Constantine gave his audience an image of the city, of the church, a sense of the monuments, a feel for their appearance, an understanding of their meaning, which is all that ekphrasis sets out to do.

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